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PROCEEDINGS

OF THE

NEW-ENGLAND ANTI-SLAVERY CONVENTION,

HELD IN BOSTON

ON THE

27TH, 28TH AND 29TH OF MAY, 1831.

BOSTON:
PUBLISHED BY GARRISON & KNAPP.

1834.

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LIST OF MEMBERS

OF THE

NEW-ENGLAND ANTI-SLAVERY CONVENTION.

MAINE.

PORTLAND.

William C. Munroe, Nathan Winslow.
James Appleton,

HALLOWELL.

Ebenezer Dole.

AUGUSTA.

Joseph Southwick.

CALAIS.

Aaron B. Church.

BANGOR.

S. L. Pomroy.

WELLS.

Walter F. Hill.

NEW-HAMPSHIRE.

DOVER.

Gibbon Williams, David Roat.

PLYMOUTH.

Jonathan Ward, George Kimball.
N. P. Rogers,

WINDHAM.

David Cambell, Calvin Cutler.

MASSACHUSETTS.

BOSTON.

Drury Fairbanks, Joshua Easton,
Joseph Tillson, J. S. Withington,
Amasa Walker, John Cutts Smith,
Truman R. Hawley, Ellis Gray Loring,
William A. Weeks, William Lloyd Garrison,
Nathaniel Southard, Thomas Cole,
J. V. Himes, Abner Forbes,
Benjamin C. Bacon, George Titecomb,
J. C. White, J. R. Cushing,
Nathaniel Budd, Isaac Knapp,
John Sullivan, Henry Safford,
S. G. Shipley, Daniel Gregg,
Henry Grew, Samuel Gooch,
Increase Gilbert, Henry C. Miner,
Increase S. Withington, Perez Gill,
John E. Fuller, James D. Yates,
Thomas Edwards, John T. Hilton,
Chandler Robbins, David L. Child,
David Cambell, E. M. P. Wells,
James G. Barbadoes, Amos A. Phelps,
Samuel E. Sewall, John R. Cambell.

LYNN.

William B. Oliver, Christopher Robinson,
John Berry, Edward S. Davis,
Israel Perkins, Samuel Gale.

DANVERS.

Edward Southwick, Jesse Putnam.

IPSWICH.

David T. Kimball, William Oakes.

SALEM AND VICINITY.

William Treadwell, Pease,
E. B. Dearborn, Asa Wiggin,
Benjamin A. Gray, Schuyler Lawrence,
Daniel Potter, Avery Briggs,
Joshua Pope, William Williams,
Daniel Weed, jr. Thomas Drew,
Thomas Woodbridge, William Chase,
Robert Coggswell, Richard M. Chipman, Jr.
William Abbot, Richard Hood,
Joseph Hale, Benjamin H. Ives,
Samuel P. Flint, Simeon Coburn,
Cyrus P. Grosvenor, John Holroyd,
William B. Dodge, Moore,
Rufus Putnam, Charles C. Sewall,
Josiah Hayward, Milton P. Braman,
Richard P. Waters, John A. Innis,
Parket Brown,

MANCHESTER.

Samuel M. Emerson.

NEWBURYPORT.

Philip C. Knapp, David J. Merrill,
William Ashby, jr. Amos Pettingell,
Samuel Titcomb, Andrew Raymond,
Atkinson Stanwood,

HAVERHILL.

John G. Whittier, Dudley Phelps,
Samuel H. Peckham, Nathan Webster.

SALISBURY.

Robert Scott.

AMESBURY.

Samuel Fielding.

LOWELL.

Giles Pease, Aaron H. Safford,
William Twining, Asa Rand.

CAMBRIDGE.

Dexter Fairbanks, Charles Follen,
Sidney Willard, Henry Ware, jr.
Jonathan Aldrich, Francis J. Higginson,
Henry M. Chamberlain.

NEWTON.

George Waters, William G. Crocker,
Charles H. Peabody, Eben Crane.

WALTHAM.

Sewall Harding, George A. Williams,
James D. White, Samuel G. Bemis.

READING.

Calvin Temple, Ambrose Kingman,
Horace P. Wakefield, Sumner W. Parker,
Jonas Parker, Enoch Peabody,
Aaron Pickett, James Nichols,
William Wakefield, jr.

A. S. 4/4/11

SOUTH READING.

Martin Stowell, Albert G. Sweetser,
Moses Sweetser, jr. Jacob Eaton,
Harrison Pratt, William Heath.

DORCHESTER.

D. Sanford, Richard Clapp,
John P. Clapp,

WRENTHAM.

William Harlow.

NORTH WRENTHAM.

Moses Thacher.

MILTON.

Joseph Porter.

CHARLESTOWN.

Oliver Holden.

HOLDEN.

Samuel Stratton, David Fish,
John P. Foster, Artemus Dryden.

ATTLEBOROUGH.

Jonathan E. Forbush, Charles Simmons.

UXBRIDGE.

Effingham L. Capron, Ephraim Bassett.

MENDON.

John M. S. Perry, David Wilson.

GROTON.

Isaiah Craggin, Amos Farnsworth.

NORTHBOROUGH.

Asaph Rice, Joseph Allen.

MIDDLEBOROUGH.

Wm. H. Eddy, Edward C. Messinger.

ANDOVER.

David T. Kimball, jr. Le Roy Sunderland.

FRANKLIN.

Elam Smalley.

GRAFTON.

Otis Converse.

ACTON.

James D. Woodbury.

BARRE.

Moses Gill Grosvenor.

SOUTH WEYMOUTH.

Charles J. Warren.

SUNDERLAND.

Erastus Andrews.

DUDLEY.

Abiel Fisher.

NANTUCKET.

Edward J. Pompey.

SHARON.

Jonathan Curtiss.

NATICK.

Edward Palmer.

WEST ROYISTON.

Philemon R. Russell.

REHOBOTH.

Otis Thompson.

WOBURN.

Luther Wright.

EAST RANDOLPH.

David Brigham.

MEDWAY.

Jacob Ide.

BROOKLINE.

Samuel Philbrick.

AMHERST.

A. Gray, H. Morse,
T. Hervey, E. Pritchett,
S. Leach, William G. Howard.

NEW BEDFORD.

J. O. Choules.

ABINGTON.

Daniel Thomas.

LITTLETON.

Silas Kenney.

FRAMINGHAM.

George Trask.

HALIFAX.

Elbridge G. Howe.

MARSHFIELD.

Silas Ripley.

SCITUATE.

Edward Seagrave.

ASSONET.

Stetson Raymond.

RHODE-ISLAND.

PAWTUCKET.

John Blain, Joseph Arnold,
Ray Potter, George W. Walker,
Samuel Foster, William P. Henry,
Joseph Healy, Rufus Bliss.

PROVIDENCE.

Anson Potter, Henry E. Benson,
George W. Benson,

CONNECTICUT.

PLAINFIELD.

Albert Hinckley, C. C. Burleigh.

BROOKLYN.

Samuel J. May, Herbert Williams.

ABINGTON.

George Sharp.

NEW-HAVEN.

Alanson Saunders.

HARTFORD.

Charles Greene.

NEW-YORK.

NEW-YORK CITY.

George Bourne, John Frost,
Charles Stuart,

OHIO.

WESTERN RESERVE COLLEGE.

Elijah Beckwith.

KENTUCKY.

AUGUSTA.

James A. Thome.

[NOTE. A very large proportion of the above persons were delegates from Anti-Slavery Societies in various parts of New-England. It will be seen that every State in New-England was represented, except Vermont: that State, however, is second to none for zeal and interest in the anti-slavery cause.]

PROCEEDINGS

OF THE

NEW-ENGLAND ANTI-SLAVERY CONVENTION.

Agreeably to public notice, the Convention, composed of delegates from various anti-slavery societies in the New-England States, and of the friends of immediate emancipation, assembled at Boylston Hall on Tuesday morning, May 27, 1834, at 10 o'clock.

The Convention was called to order by Rev. E. M. P. Wells of Boston, and opened with prayer by the Rev. John Blain of Pawtucket, R. I.

The following gentlemen were appointed, by nomination, officers of the Convention :

PRESIDENT.

Rev. SAMUEL J. MAY, Brooklyn, Ct.

VICE PRESIDENTS.

Rev. JOHN BLAIN, Pawtucket, R. I.

WILLIAM OAKES, Esq. Ipswich, Mass.

Rev. E. M. P. WELLS, Boston, Mass.

EFFINGHAM L. CAPRON, Uxbridge, Mass.

SECRETARIES.

Rev. JOHN M. S. PERRY, Mendon, Mass.

Mr. BENJAMIN C. BACON, Boston, Mass.

The President, upon taking the chair, expressed his regret that some other person, better qualified to fill it, had not been selected by the Convention; but it was a principle with him, and he hoped it might be with all engaged in the sacred cause of emancipation, *so long as it was unpopular*, to stand wherever put by the anti-slavery brethren. They had met to consider the most momentous subject which had ever agitated the land—relating, as it did, to the thraldom of more than two millions of their own countrymen. What was slavery, as it existed in this country? He would not harrow up the feelings of the Convention, by depicting individual cases of suffering and cruelty. He would only glance at slavery as it was established and regulated *by law*; and it was certainly fair to conclude that in practice it was no better than by law. Millions of native Americans were held in as abject a state of sub-

serviency as brutes—regarded as property—and bought and sold like cattle. It was a matter of every day's occurrence for husbands to be torn from their wives, parents from children, and brothers from sisters, and sold into remediless exile and captivity. All this was constantly done, even in the boasted capital of this republic. The law gave no more protection to the slaves than to brutes. If they dared to offer any resistance, under the severest provocation, any brutality might be inflicted upon them. Even if a slave should venture to defend his father or child from violence, or his mother or wife or sister from pollution, it would be at the peril of his life. The law contemplated no improvement in the physical, intellectual, or moral condition of the slaves. Any attempt to instruct them in reading and writing was regarded and punished as felony. The teacher was liable to be fined—cast into prison—and deprived of his elective franchise. Should they then advise delay, in view of these appalling facts? The nation had been indulged too long in its guilty slumber, and now, if ever, was the time for vigorous and determined action. In the prayer that had just been offered, the cause in which they were engaged had been commended to God. He hoped that all of them had united in that petition, that His wisdom might direct them and His grace bless.

The following gentlemen were appointed to act as a Committee of Arrangements—Messrs. George W. Benson of Providence, Samuel E. Sewall, Wm. Lloyd Garrison, and James G. Barbadoes of Boston, Wm. Oakes of Ipswich, Joseph Healy of Pawtucket, and Charles Follen of Cambridge.

Mr. Bacon asked leave to read the following letters from the venerable GEORGE BENSON of Brooklyn, Ct. President of the New-England Anti-Slavery Society, and from the

venerable NATHANIEL EMMONS, D. D. of Franklin, Mass.

BROOKLYN, (Ct.) 17th April, 1834.

MY DEAR AND RESPECTED FRIEND:

I duly received your very kind and welcome letter, of the 31st ult., and fully acknowledge the propriety of an apology for this delay of any reply, but at present will only suggest, that it did not emanate from an absence of grateful respect to yourself and the Society, which is so happy in the selection of a Recording Secretary. Permit me to express a regret, that the same sagacity had not influenced the election of a President, which, however flattering and gratifying to me, would by near locality of situation, have rendered the choice more auspicious to the Society. As far as respects zeal, in this truly Christian cause, I feel tenacious of some favorable notice of its friends, and thank them and yourself, for the kind invitation of a visit to Boston, which, if my life is continued, I hope to enjoy; but during the ensuing month, I have business to transact in this town and Providence, which admits of no procrastination. In addition to this, my very venerable friend, MOSES BROWN, of Providence, (personally known to our friend Mr. Garrison,) has signified his wish that I should, some time in May, attend to revive a Society, instituted many years since, to aid in the abolition of the Slave Trade and Slavery: in order that the recently instituted Abolition Society in that city, should unite with the proposed renovated Society. It will therefore be very inconvenient, if not impracticable, to attend the proposed meeting of your Society in Boston. I perfectly accord in opinion with you on the importance of a dying testimony to the religiously correct faith in the prompt and immediate abolition of Slavery. During the discussion of the Slave Trade Question, in the British Parliament, I observed that the arguments opposed to that nefarious traffic, would in general apply with equal force and propriety to the no less moral turpitude of existing Slavery. On the introduction of a motion for the gradual abolition of Slavery, the celebrated Mr. Pitt rejoiced that the debate had taken a turn which contracted the question into narrow limits—the matter then in dispute was merely the time at which the Abolition should take place. Why ought it to be abolished at all? because it is an incurable injustice—a moral evil—how much stronger then, is the argument for immediate than gradual abolition—if, on the ground of a moral evil, it is to be abolished at last, why ought it not now? Why is injustice to be suffered to remain for a single hour? &c. Mr. Burke declared that ‘all men who desire liberty deserve it—it is not the reward of our merit, or the acquisition of our industry, it is our inheritance, it is the birth right of our

species. Slavery is a state so improper, so degrading and so ruinous to the feelings and capacities of human nature, that it ought not to be suffered to exist.’ To the honor of the British Prelates, they exhibited the most decisive testimony against the detestable practice. Bishop Porteus said—‘The Christian Religion is opposed to Slavery in its spirit and in its principles: it classes men-stealers among murderers of fathers and mothers, and among the most profane criminals upon earth.’ Bishop Horsley declared that ‘Slavery is injustice which no consideration of policy could extenuate.’ The Bishop of St. David said, ‘Slavery ought to be abolished, because it is inconsistent with the will of God.’ Bishop Peckard pronounced ‘the trade a dreadful pre-eminence in guilt.’ Dr. Price, who was a distinguished friend to the American Revolution, says in reference to that event—‘The negro trade cannot be censured in language too severe; it is a traffic shocking to humanity, cruel, wicked, and diabolical. I am happy that the United States are entering into measures for discountenancing it, and for abolishing the odious Slavery’ (mistake) ‘which it has introduced: till they have done this, it will not appear they deserve the liberty for which they have been contending.’

Perhaps you may be well acquainted with all the extracts I have transcribed. They are not designed for publication, unless it is expected that some good to our sacred cause may be the result. I had so long protracted my reply to your acceptable letter, that I concluded to occupy more than one page, and perhaps have even intruded on your patience. I solicit you to present my very amicable respects to our mutual and distinguished friend to the colored population, Mr. Garrison, and as opportunity may occur, to all the members of the Society, with my grateful acknowledgments for the favor with which they have honored me; and do, my dear Sir, assure yourself of the amity, respect, and esteem of your affectionate friend and colleague,

GEORGE BENSON.

I noticed, in a late Liberator, an allusion to a letter from me, and to my advanced age. I have been richly favored by a kind Providence, to have attained almost 82 years, without the aid of spectacles, which I now mention as an apology for the defects you may discover in composition and hand writing.

G. B.

BENJ. C. BACON, Esq., Boston.

FRANKLIN, April 25, 1834.

MR. B. C. BACON:

SIR,—Please to assure the Board of Managers of the New-England Anti-Slavery Society, that I am deeply sensible of the unmerited respect which they have shown me, by their polite invitation to attend the Convention of the Delegates to that Society, to be held in the city of Boston on the last Tuesday of May next. I should esteem it a

peculiar honor and privilege to have a seat in a Convention of such noble patriots and cordial friends of humanity. But my extreme age, and feeble powers of body and of mind, forbid me to go to such a distance from home, and especially forbid me to appear and sit in such a distinguished body of men on such a public and interesting occasion. I have always held and abhorred Slavery as a heinous and detestable crime in its own nature, and a foul blot upon any nation, and especially upon New-England and the United States. It is my sincere desire and ardent prayer, that God would afford his presence and direction to the honorable Convention, and lead them to devise and adopt the wisest and best measures to obtain their benevolent and important object.

I am, Sir, respectfully yours,

N. EMMONS.

Voted, That the foregoing letters be placed upon the files of the Convention for publication.

On motion of Rev. E. M. P. Wells, it was

Voted, That it be a standing rule of the Convention, that all business to be acted upon by the Convention be introduced through the standing Committee.

On motion of the Rev. John Blain of Pawtucket, it was unanimously

Resolved, That slavery, as it exists in our land, is contrary to the laws of God and to the principles of humanity, and ought to be immediately abolished.

Mr. B. observed that he was not a little surprised to hear, in a land where only five-sixths of the inhabitants are free, so much said of our liberty, our free institutions, &c. Go a little way south, and one sixth of the population are in abject and cruel bondage. To them the 4th of July is no day of Independence. While the proud eagles of our country have been waving for 58 years, and our orators have been trumpeting long and loud the praises of liberty, a large portion of our fellow men enslaved and oppressed, have been toiling beneath the lash, in our very midst.

And to whom shall they go for redress? To the north? Even there the almost universal cry is, No interference. Are we allowed to send out publications calculated to enlighten the public mind on this subject? Are we permitted to raise our voices in their behalf? By no means. We must be still, we are told. We can do no good—we may do mischief. Not so, however, if the suffering Greeks, on another continent, call for our sympathies, our contributions, our aid. There is then no want of contributions or orators. The press also is at once enlisted in their favor. Nothing is heard but notes of sympathy for that distressed people,

and not a dog is found to move his tongue against it. We can declaim long and loud, too, of the tyranny of the Czar over the unfortunate Poles; but on the subject of a worse tyranny in our very midst, *we must be still!* we must wait a little longer! Two millions of people enslaved in our very midst, and yet we must wait a little longer, before we may raise our voices in their behalf.

Wait, Mr. President? Why, we have waited half a century already. We have concluded to wait no longer. We are determined—at least a few of us—to *act*. We have determined to form Societies and send out agents to awaken and enlighten the public mind, in hopes that, by these and other kindred means, the time may eventually arrive when we may be able to say to the captive and the slave, Go free.

The time has arrived when it will not do to talk longer about *gradual* emancipation. Let us make the case our own. Suppose our own sons and daughters and parents and friends and neighbors were exposed in the capital of the United States, and compelled to undergo an examination—physically—like beasts, and then sold under the hammer of the auctioneer; and driven off to New-Orleans or elsewhere. How long should we talk about gradual emancipation? Are not the bodies and souls of colored people as really valuable as those of the people of the north? We have our benevolent institutions for improving the condition of the Deaf and Dumb, and the Blind; and some nations have institutions for the improvement and reformation even of criminals. But what is our country doing?

Mr. B. went into an examination of the apology for slaveholders, that many of them are benevolent and kind men, and treat their slaves with great kindness, and mentioned as indisputable facts many instances of the most wanton and unprovoked cruelty inflicted on them both by male and female owners. Cruelty, he insisted, was the rule—kindness the exception, universally. Something must be done. As men, and as Christians, we are called upon to express our feelings; and neither bonds, nor threats, nor persecution should deter us.

On motion of Dea. Asaph Rice of Northboro', seconded by Rev. David Brigham of Randolph, it was unanimously

Resolved, That the time has arrived when the ministers of the gospel must regard it as their duty to sustain the benevolent operations of the day, especially in reference to the abolition of slavery in this country and throughout the world.

Mr. R. said he came here to record his name as the friend of his race—as the friend of man. It was an eventful day in the history of our country—such an one as had not

before been witnessed. He insisted strongly on the demand made, at the present crisis, on ministers of the gospel. They are to preach the glad tidings to every creature. There is no exception—no limitation. He was not about to prescribe in detail the course which every minister ought to take, but something he must. The Anti-Slavery Society has no war with those who will do anything, whatever, for the colored people. It is only those who are against them, that they would oppose.

Mr. R.'s great age and occasional eloquence gave much interest to his remarks, independent of the nature of the subject itself. One burst of feeling was peculiarly happy.

'Ye ministers of Christ,' said he, 'it behoves you to come up to the spirit of this great work. You are to place your feet firm on the Rock of Ages, and with your shoulders firm at the wheel, you are to strain every muscle, and ligament, and nerve, and fibre. And are not the motives sufficient? See that master, with his whip in his hand! See the blood streaming down the lacerated back of the poor, and perhaps unoffending victim of his cruelty! Then imagine yourselves, on the other hand, at the throne of God, and a countless host of redeemed souls from our colored population—redeemed through your exertions. Can you then want motives to action? But if so, draw aside the curtains which conceal the bottomless pit, and view the miseries of the lost—lost perhaps by your neglect to do what you might have accomplished! Have you not slept long enough? Will you continue to sleep on? Will you longer go down with Jonah to the sides of the ship, when an awful storm is hanging over the country?'

Rev. Mr. Brigham, of Randolph, believed that preachers sometimes needed preaching to, and he rejoiced that they had received, on this occasion, much plain and wholesome instruction from a plain man. Still he thought Mr. R. did not rightly apprehend the present views and feelings of ministers in regard to slavery. In his own neighborhood at least,—he believed throughout New-England—a large majority of the ministers of the gospel were Anti-Slavery men. Yet without doubt they needed much exhortation—much stirring up to their duty. He hoped, therefore, that the resolution would pass. Only let 'light and love' be diffused through the country, he said, and the progress of the Anti-Slavery cause must be rapid indeed. He hoped ministers as well as all other citizens would come up to the work. Let light and love fly through the country, and all difficulties in our way will soon disappear. Slaveholders have consciences as well as other men, guilty as they are.

Committees were appointed to report upon the following subjects:

1. On slavery in the District of Columbia and in the Territories—Messrs. John Blain, Samuel E. Sewall, Asa Rand, David T. Kimball, Effingham L. Capron.

2. On the internal slave trade—Messrs. John Frost, David L. Child, Ray Potter, Jesse Putnam, and Joseph Southwick.

3. On the best means of effecting a more complete co-operation and union among abolitionists—Messrs. William Lloyd Garrison, William Oakes, George W. Benson, S. L. Pomroy, Asa Rand, C. C. Burleigh, S. E. Sewall, S. J. May, Charles Stuart, Effingham L. Capron, N. P. Rogers, Jacob Ide, Philémon R. Russell, and C. P. Grosvenor.

4. On Manual Labor Schools—Messrs. Moses Thacher, William Oakes, E. M. P. Wells, Philemon R. Russell, and George Sharpe.

5. On the expenses of the Convention—Messrs. Aaron Pickett, Amasa Walker, S. G. Shipley, Thomas Edwards, and James G. Barbadoes.

6. Committee to publish report of the Convention—Messrs. Wm. Lloyd Garrison, Isaac Knapp, B. C. Bacon, Henry Grew, and C. C. Burleigh.

7. On an address to the People of New-England—Messrs. Charles Follen, Dudley Phelps, Henry Ware, Jr., C. P. Grosvenor, John G. Whitier, and Charles Stuart.

Adjourned to 3 o'clock this afternoon.

AFTERNOON SESSION.

On motion of S. E. Sewall, Esq., of Boston, Resolved, That the Committee on the address to the People of New-England, combine with it an address to the people of the United States.

On motion of William Oakes, Esq. of Ipswich,

Resolved, That the cause of Anti-Slavery, embracing as it does the objects of all the other benevolent institutions of our country, deserves the peculiar support, exertions, and sacrifices of its friends, and of the community.

In support of his resolution, Mr. Oakes said:

MR. PRESIDENT—I need not labor long to prove my resolution. A single proposition, which none will deny, will make it evident to every one. At present, the two millions of slaves in the United States are wholly shut out from the benefits of all the benevolent institutions and societies of our country. We seek the immediate abolition of slavery, and thus to extend, in the only possible manner, these benefits to the slaves.

But let us consider the subject a little more in detail. Let us consider the great divis-

ions, under some one of which, all our benevolent and literary institutions and societies may be ranked.

1. *Education.*—This great cause, in all its departments, moral, intellectual, and religious, employs the exertions of thousands of societies, and the time and talents of hundreds of thousands of our citizens, among whom are to be found many of the greatest minds in the country.

But who, among all these, teaches the slave to read?

By the laws of several of the southern States, the high offence of teaching a slave to read is punished at first by fine; when repeated, by severe imprisonment and death. In those States where such laws do not exist, universal custom, the power of public opinion rigidly applied, and the settled fear of the consequences of such teaching, produce exactly the same effect as the law. I do not say that there is not a solitary exception, but such exceptions are *solitary* indeed, and are therefore magnified and multiplied in the ears of the North, with the utmost solicitude. We seek the abolition of slavery, that the slaves may be taught to read.

2. *The distribution of the Bible.*—We have all heard of the enterprise of the American Bible Society in attempting to supply, with the aid of the Bible Societies of Europe, every family in the world with the Bible, in 20 years. This great and glorious plan originated, we are informed by the circular of the American Bible Society, in Virginia. On receiving that circular last year, I was peculiarly struck with the zeal of the agent of the Virginia Bible Society. He truly states 'that EACH of the heathen souls, to whom we send the gospel, is worth more than all the gold which could be produced in the whole world, though it were planted like wheat, and though each grain when produced, would become a bushel of gold.' He also says—these are his words,—'I give you the strongest pledge that I speak from the heart, when I tell you, that, dearly as I love the Colonization Society, and strongly as you know I have been urged to devote myself to its service, I have yet been constrained to decline that delightful office, and accept the agency of the Virginia Bible Society.' I looked through this gentleman's long letter, and through the numerous Resolutions of the Virginia Bible Society on this subject, to see whether the case of any of the half million heathen souls of Virginia were present in the minds either of the Society or its agent. I hope, and, indeed, I can hardly doubt, that they were—for the letter of the agent strongly enforces 'the duty of preaching the Gospel to every creature in the world;' and though they certainly do not directly mention the slaves, yet from their phrase, 'the reading population of the world,' it is probable that they had looked

at their case, on one or the other side of the way, at least. But they do *insist*, that all the 'reading population' of all the ends of the earth, in China, in Iceland, in New Holland, in Greece, in Rome, and in Liberia, and every other part of the world, shall be supplied in 20 years, if possible.

We seek to abolish slavery, that the slaves may be a reading population, and may be supplied with the Bible.

3. *The preaching of the Gospel.*—So little provision is made for the religious instruction of the slaves in any way, and so much discouragement and restraint are laid upon the preaching of the gospel to them, that they are in general, practically in a state of absolute heathenism. Many retain their African superstitions, but the greater part have lost the religion of their fathers, without receiving any other in return. A great part are ignorant of even the being of a God, and only know the sound of his name from the oaths which they hear. Yet these two millions of heathen are our countrymen—our *immediate* neighbors. To preach the gospel to them, it will not be necessary to instruct our missionaries in difficult foreign languages, or to print the Bible in Chinese or Arabic characters.

But these slaves cannot receive the christian religion from their masters, even if they were ardently desirous to give it to them.—For how can a slaveholder declare the whole counsel of God, holding the whip in one hand, and the Bible in the other, and utterly refusing to obey the great precept of Christianity? We seek the abolition of slavery, that the gospel may be preached to the slaves.

4. *Humanity.*—All the slaves of the south together, cannot make a single witness. Of what avail, then, are laws, which can never be executed? Their persons and their lives are left totally to the absolute control of their masters. We *call* upon the whole south to show a single instance, in which a slaveholder has been capitally, or even severely punished for the murder of his slave. They are generally considered as cattle, and are continually bought, sold, and exchanged; husband from wife, parent from child, and friend from friend. The northern slave States are now ridding themselves from the 'curse of slavery,' by sending in droves every year, thousands of slaves from the place of their nativity, dearer to a slave than to a freeman, as it is often to him the only known and fixed spot in the ocean of existence, to be sold in the new and unhealthy climate of the far south, where the human stock, which is produced with so much labor and selection in the northern slave States, finds a ready market, and a quick consumption.

Is not the cause of abolition the cause of humanity?

5. *Liberty*.—The sound of this word would once have thrilled every American bosom.— But at the present time in our country, perhaps from the constant and too universal enjoyment of her blessings, we have become blind to her charms and deaf to her voice. Still, however, Liberty is a good thing in Greece and in Poland. Even in this country, a little zeal for Liberty may be overlooked in some, though not in those who wish for the abolition of slavery. But this is an exciting subject, and I will not speak though I burst, for fear of affronting our friends both at the South and the North: we will not in vain ask them to ‘pardon a little to the spirit of Liberty.’

The Union of our country, though not an object of every benevolent Society, is justly dear to every one of us. Permit me, in illustration of this point, and of the proper means of preserving this Union, to relate an anecdote.

The too much indulged boy of a kind and worthy father, when he was in want of any favor from him, was in the habit of mounting the roof of the house, walking down to the eaves, and seeing his father in the yard, crying out to him, ‘Father, if you do not do as I say, I will certainly jump off.’ The affectionate old father, terrified to see him on the precipitous edge, cried out, ‘My son, my son, come down, come down! I will grant your request. I am willing to do any thing for the sake of conciliation.’

Finally, Mr. President, if our cause embraces the objects of all the benevolent institutions in the country, we are bound to give it our peculiar support. When with our friends we go out to cultivate the great field of benevolence, and know that they are prejudiced against a certain portion of that field, which we have found to be equally deserving of cultivation with any other, will it not be our imperious duty to spend our whole efforts upon this portion, confident that our neighbors will spend all theirs upon the other portions, and that thus the whole field will be cultivated? But however furious our zeal for our favorite object, yet I fear that even this apparently plain command of duty will not be obeyed. We shall still see, as usual, abolitionists among the foremost and most active in every ‘fanatical enterprise’ of the day. But I hope, until our brethren come in and bear their share of our burden, we shall spend the best of our money, the best of our time, and the best of our efforts, in the cause of anti-slavery.

On motion of Rev. Moses Thacher of North Wrentham, it was unanimously

Resolved, That be a committee to inquire into the expediency of recommending to the American Anti-Slavery Society the offer of a premium of dollars for

every cwt. of merchantable cotton; for every cwt. of rice; for every cwt. of sugar; and for hhd. of molasses, of a good and merchantable quality:—such premium to be paid upon satisfactory evidence being presented that such articles are the produce of *free labor* in any part of the United States.

Mr. T. said that, while he had been for many years, a warm and decided abolitionist in principle, he had found his practice rather at war with his principles. The language of the Bible is—‘Be not partakers of other men’s sins.’ It is commonly thought that New-England is free from the heinous sin of slavery. But is it so, Mr. President? How many articles of dress, and of food—even of those which we suppose ourselves hardly able to dispense with,—are the products of slave labor? Is there a gentleman or lady in this hall, who has not about their persons, some of those articles, which usually involve this kind of labor? But to use these articles, what is it but to hold out an inducement to slaveholders to continue slavery? What is it but to offer a premium on the labor of his slaves? Is there a manufactory in New-England, whose walls are not built up in the sighs, and tears, and groans of bondage?

Mr. T. said he was not in favor of attempting to hire men to abandon bad practices, but he could not avoid wishing that the resolution he offered, under some form or other, which should retain its substance, might pass. Mr. T. said he rarely, if ever, entered a grocery to purchase articles which he had usually thought were family necessaries, without his conscience reproaching him: and that he continually felt that the subject was involved in difficulties. So intense were his feelings on the subject, that he was sometimes ashamed to hold up his head, or to appear in the presence of his fellow citizens.

Mr. Charles Stuart, of England, begged permission to relate an anecdote. Many years ago, when efforts were first made in England to abolish slavery, some friends of abolition went so far as to refuse to use articles which were the products of slave labor. At length, however, their conscientiousness wore off. About this time, a slaveholder from the West Indies, and an abolitionist, were riding together, in the north of England in a coach. The abolitionist endeavored to draw the West Indian into conversation on his favorite topic. At length, the latter looking him up in the face, said with a smile—‘Yes, I know that sometime ago, we were threatened with the loss of our slaves, but since you have returned to your old habits, we care nothing about your Anti-Slavery.’

Rev. E. M. P. Wells, of Boston, and one of the secretaries, Mr. Perry, of Mendon,

also addressed the meeting on the subjects involved in the resolution. Mr. Wells thought it our duty as consistent abolitionists to abstain from the use of the products of slave labor, without regard to consequences. Mr. Perry thought our inconsistency in this respect one of the 'condemning' sins of the land.

Rev. Henry Grew, of Boston, said he met with difficulty on this subject; that of late he had, in one instance, sought in more than forty shops for sugar which was not the product of slave labor. He had at length succeeded, and it was the sweetest sugar he had ever had in his family.

The following gentlemen were appointed a Committee on Mr. Thacher's resolution: Messrs. Henry Grew, Samuel Foster, and Henry E. Benson.

On motion of Rev. George Bourne of New-York city, seconded by Wm. Lloyd Garrison, the following preamble and resolution were adopted:

Whereas slaveholding cannot be reconciled with a profession of Christianity; and whereas the existing connexion of slavery with the christian churches in the United States constitutes the chief support of that ungodly system, and which is a stigma upon the cause of piety that ought without delay to be effaced—Therefore

Resolved, That a committee be appointed to report an address to the christian public, declaratory of the opinions of the Convention upon this solemn and most important subject.

Mr. Bourne having briefly but very cogently advocated his resolution, Messrs. Henry Grew, David Brigham, Wm. Lloyd Garrison, Moses Thacher, and Sewall Harding, were appointed a committee to prepare an address to the christian public.

On motion of Rev. John Frost of Whitesboro', N. Y. it was unanimously

Resolved, That every citizen, whether he belongs to a free or a slave State, is deeply interested in the subject of slavery, and not only has a right, but is in duty bound, to use his influence to abolish this system of injustice and oppression.

Mr. F. sustained his resolution in an able manner, and in the course of his remarks made some statements respecting the interruption of the Anti-Slavery meeting in Middletown, (Ct.) and the gross violence used upon the persons of the gentlemen who spoke on that occasion.

On motion of Rev. Joshua V. Himes of Boston, it was unanimously

Resolved, That it be recommended to all the friends of immediate emancipation to as-

semble together on the 4th of July annually, and by public addresses on behalf of the colored citizens, and by taking collections in favor of the American Anti-Slavery Society, to hasten the period when the yoke of slavery shall be broken throughout our country, and all the oppressed shall go free.

On motion of Amasa Walker, Esq. the following preamble and resolution were adopted:

Whereas more than two millions of native Americans are held in cruel and degrading bondage in the midst of us—Therefore

Resolved, That 'THE LAND OF FREEDOM' is a phrase inapplicable to the United States of America, and ought not to be used by any real friends of universal liberty until slavery be abolished.

Mr. WALKER said, that the Resolution he had the honor to submit, was suggested to his mind by the remark of a gentleman who addressed the Convention this morning, that we live in a land of freedom. Assembled as we were to take into consideration the evils of American Slavery; and after hearing the impressive remarks of the President of the Convention, with a mind deeply absorbed in the interesting and appalling subject, he must confess he was forcibly struck with the declaration referred to, that we live in a land of freedom. He knew, indeed, that this expression was one of common, nay universal use; yet it appeared to him as extremely incongruous to the present occasion. It seemed a contradiction to the whole spirit and tenor of all we had done, and all we intended to do. The enquiry came home to his mind with irresistible force,—Is the term, 'the land of freedom,' applicable to the United States of America; and ought we ever to use that term while slavery exists in our country, and is sanctioned by our government? Both these enquiries, he said, received at once from his mind a decided and unequivocal negative; and believing that some useful purpose might be answered by bringing the subject before the Convention, he had taken the liberty of submitting the resolution now upon the table.

Mr. W. said he was aware that the assertion made in the former part of the resolution, might appear bold, and perhaps presumptuous. It certainly was at variance with public sentiment. 'The glorious land of liberty' had long been the boast of our people, and had been re-echoed through the land at every returning anniversary of our national Independence. Yet it was a fact, and the sooner we felt it the better, that we live in a land of Slavery, bitter, unalleviated Slavery; above all other lands, emphatically so. In contradistinction to other civilized nations, we call ourselves a *free* people. We point across the Atlantic to the empires

of Europe, and thank God that we are not like other men; that while they are groaning under ancient, feudal despotisms, we are free and happy. But how empty, how vain, was this boast! Where shall we find slavery in its most aggravated and direful forms; in Europe or America? We express and feel great commiseration for the oppressed and half-paid operatives of England; for the ignorant, degraded, half-starved peasantry of Ireland; but what was their condition, what their sufferings, compared with two millions of our own population? They, poor and miserable indeed as they were, could not be bought and sold like cattle; the sanctity of their domestic relations could not be violated with impunity by every lawless oppressor; parents could not be torn from their children, or the husband separated from the wife of his bosom; nor were their females exposed to universal dishonor, without the least protection from the civil law. No, sir. And if we go to semi-barbarous Russia, to find slavery that shall form a parallel to ours, we cannot find it even there. The serfs of the Autocrat have *some* rights, and the Russian boor is the *lawful* possessor of his *own* wife—the allowed protector of his own offspring. Nor even in the last stage of European civilization, among the subjects of the Grand Seigneur himself, do we find human degradation so complete and awful, as exists among the unfortunate colored people of this boasted land of liberty. Go where we will, we search in vain for a despotism like ‘the despotism of freedom.’ Let us, then, (continued Mr. W.) spare our errant sympathies, which we are proud to lavish bountifully on the miserable of other lands, for our own still more unfortunate countrymen.

The guilt of slavery is not a local, a partial guilt. It is strictly *national*; it is identified with our government; it exists, in its full extent, in the capital of our country, under the immediate laws of Congress; and is fully and unequivocally acknowledged as one of the established legal institutions of this nation.

Mr. W. said he would add nothing further to substantiate the first part of the resolution, but would advert, briefly, (for he did not come there prepared or expecting to make a speech,) to the other position, viz. that the term, ‘land of freedom,’ as at present applied to our country, ‘ought not to be used by any real friend of universal liberty.’ It ought not so to be used, he said, not only because it was not a just and proper term, and because it was inconsistent for us to do so, but because it had a tendency to paralyze the public mind to the subject of slavery. It was a self-deception; it was a concealment of a great and glaring fact; it tended to sear the consciences of men, and create a self-complacency altogether unwarranted by the

true state of the case. It was an attempt to cover up our national sin, and it contemned that declaration of Holy writ, that whose covereth his sins shall not prosper, but he that confesseth and forsaketh his sins shall find mercy. So let us do, said Mr. W. Let us frankly and honestly confess that we live, not in a land of liberty where all enjoy equal rights and privileges, protected by and amenable to Law; but in a land where the right of freedom depends upon the complexion of the skin; where one sixth of the whole population are held in a state of vassalage more revolting and dreadful than can be found in Christendom besides. Let us confess that, as a nation, we are disgraced. Let us no longer subject ourselves to be justly ridiculed by all intelligent foreigners, as a people who, while they boast of the freest institutions on earth, and hold themselves up as the greatest models of justice and liberality, are yet the most cruel, uncompromising tyrants; a people, who, while they proclaim abroad the great truth, ‘that all men are born free and equal, and endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights, among which are life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness,’ hold more than TWO MILLIONS of their fellow men in a state of abject servitude, deprived of all personal *rights*, without any adequate protection of *life*, without the least vestige of *liberty*, and, as a body, without any possible means of *pursuing happiness* here, or being prepared for happiness in the world to come.

It is high time, said Mr. W., that we call things by their right names; that we look at facts as they are, and bring down upon our minds the tremendous responsibility of being participators in the sin of enslaving our fellow men. Let us not talk about ‘*Southern Slavery*’ and ‘*American Freedom*.’ Let us not lay the flattering unction to our souls, that we are free from this guilt; but let the astounding conviction come home to our hearts, that, as a nation, we are polluted; and that every individual in this great Republic must answer at the bar of God for the continued existence of this enormous iniquity. Mr. Walker closed his remarks by saying that he submitted the resolution with entire confidence, not doubting the reception it would meet with from an anti-slavery Convention.

Rev. Mr. Grosvenor, of Salem, asked leave to correct one expression of Mr. Walker, that in our country, freedom depended upon the color of the skin. Mr. Grosvenor said that many slaves were as white, or even whiter, than their masters. He stated the introductory clause of the Constitution of the United States. ‘We the people of the United States, in order to form a more perfect union, *establish justice*, ensure domestic tranquillity, provide for the common defence, promote the general welfare, and secure the

blessings of LIBERTY to ourselves and our POSTERITY, do ordain and establish this Constitution for the United States of America.' He asked, are not the million of mulatto slaves a part of the 'posterity' of their white fathers? And does not the Constitution guarantee to *these* slaves, at least, *their* liberty? Surely, the Slaveholders ought to be looking up *their* 'posterity.' The fact is well attested, that one slaveholder has *seventy* children in Slavery. His 'posterity' will soon be numerous.

Rev. Mr. Rand, of Lowell, thought that Mr. Walker, in offering his resolution, had departed from the ordinary and general use of words. He asked, is not this a land of Literature and of Religion, although perhaps a large majority of our people possess neither? A very great majority of the people of the United States were in the enjoyment of freedom, and it seemed improper for us, who formed a part of that majority, to deny that it was a land of freedom. He begged to relate an anecdote, to illustrate his meaning. A christian professor, rather exclusive in his feelings, always used to ask grace in the following manner: 'God bless *me* and *my* wife, *my* son and his wife, *us* four, and no more.'

Mr. C. C. Burleigh, of Brooklyn, Ct. said that slavery was upheld by the Laws of half of the Union, and that the Constitution of the United States was generally considered to sanction slavery.

William Oakes, Esq. of Ipswich, said, that the question seemed to be, whether this was a land of slavery. The United States held a greater number of slaves than any other country in the world, with the exception, perhaps, of Brazil, and a large majority of the voters of the United States were yet in favor of the continuance of slavery.

Mr. Garrison said, there was ever an absurdity in attempting to establish a *self-evident proposition*. He had never considered the sacred strife that was agitating the nation, as having exclusive reference to the emancipation of two millions of southern slaves: it aimed at the redemption of the whole land—of thirteen millions of people. We were all in bondage. He could not deem this a *land of freedom*, while in one half of it he could not denounce tyranny without perilling his life. We possessed neither the liberty of speech nor of the press. Was there not a reward of FIVE THOUSAND DOLLARS still offered for his seizure, because he had ventured to assail a most execrable and bloody despotism? Even at the north, his personal security from outrage and abduction was by no means certain. Thought—utterance—action—the press—the pulpit—the bench—the bar—all were held in servile bondage. It was, therefore, not merely an abuse of language, but an outrage upon

common sense; it was consummate hypocrisy and glaring falsehood, to call ours a *free* country. When all unequal laws, having respect to the color of the skin, shall have been universally expunged from the statute-books, and prejudice scouted as a fiend, and the cord of caste burnt to ashes, and every chain broken, and every captive set free; when the time shall have arrived that, in any part of our republic, it will be safe and honorable to assail the oppressor as the enemy of his species; then—and not till then—may we truly call this 'THE LAND OF FREEDOM.' He trusted the resolution would pass unanimously.

On motion of Rev. Mr. Grosvenor,

Resolved, That a committee be raised to collect information from members of the Convention, respecting the progress of the anti-slavery cause.

Messrs. Horace P. Wakefield, Wm. Lloyd Garrison, and Albert Hinckley, were appointed on that committee.

Adjourned to 8 o'clock, Wednesday morning.

WEDNESDAY, May 28.

The Convention was opened with prayer by Rev. Mr. Snowden of Boston.

The minutes of the previous meeting having been read—

The Committee on the Manual Labor School made a favorable report, and submitted sundry resolutions, which, after an interesting debate, were unanimously adopted.

The Committee on Slavery in the District of Columbia made a report, which was accepted.

On motion of Rev. S. L. Poinroy of Bangor, Me. it was unanimously

Resolved, That a Committee of five be raised to ascertain, in behalf of this Convention, whether the academies, female boarding schools, colleges, asylums for the blind and for the deaf and dumb, for the reformation of juvenile delinquents, and institutions of a similar character in New-England, are willing to admit colored youth to their privileges on terms of equality with others, and report in such time and way as they shall think proper.

The discussion of this Resolution, and of the first Resolution on the Manual Labor School, brought before the Convention several most interesting facts.

Some gentleman in the Convention having stated that some of the Colleges of New-England were already open to colored men, Rev. William C. Munroe, of Portland, (a colored person,) rose and stated that he also had heard that certain Colleges of New-Eng-

land would receive colored pupils, and that Mr. John B. Russwurm, Mr. Edward Jones, and Mr. Prince Saunders, had in fact obtained their education in Bowdoin, Amherst and Dartmouth Colleges. He applied for admittance to these colleges, but met with an immediate rejection, or was offered admittance only on such degrading terms, as no one who had any sense of the rights of man would accept. The account given by Mr. Munroe of the successive rejection which he experienced, must have touched the heart of every friend of Education.

Rev. Mr. Perry, of Mendon, stated the astounding fact, that application had been made to the Institution for the Blind, for the admittance of a blind colored boy from Uxbridge, Mass. of excellent disposition and remarkable capacity, but he had been refused on account of his color! The Principal of the Institution, Dr. Howe, known as the friend of humanity in Greece, stated candidly to the applicants the reason for his rejection. We may, he said, have some pupils from the South, and if we admit this blind colored boy into our Institution, it may make it unpopular there.

Mr. Garrison said he had a letter which had been put into his hands some time since by the gentleman to whom it was addressed, (Effingham L. Capron, a member of the Massachusetts Legislature, and one of the Vice Presidents of the Convention,) which he would read in confirmation of the melancholy and disgraceful fact disclosed by Rev. Mr. Perry.

MENDON, Jan. 13, 1834.

DEAR SIR:

The Legislature, last winter, granted \$6000 a year to the Institution for the instruction of the blind, on condition that they should receive and educate twenty poor blind children, providing so many applied: application was to be made at the Secretary's office, before the month of May last, at which time the Governor, if there should be more than twenty applications, was to decide which should be admitted.

I caused the name of a poor colored boy to be entered in due season, but found, on subsequent inquiry, he was not admitted, notwithstanding there were only about 12 or 13 applications. The reason assigned was, *because he had a colored skin!!* I called on the Governor, sometime since, and he informed me that he had no objections to granting him a certificate; but the trustees of the Institution objected. He also informed me that the Institution received ayearly \$30000 last year from the unexpended appropriation to the Deaf and Dumb, making about \$90000 from the State last year. I understand the objection made by Dr. Howe, who seems to be the principal of the Institution, is, if they should have pupils from the south, their parents or friends would not like to have them in the same school with colored children! I am not aware that the Legislature intended any distinction of color when they made the grant, nor do I believe they would countenance it.

I hope you will take measures to bring up the subject before the Legislature, and see what can be done.

The boy is about 11 years old, very active and robust, and I feel very anxious he should receive the benefits of that Institution.

Yours respectfully,

BENJAMIN DAVENPORT.

Effingham L. Capron.

Mr. Garrison commented at some length, in terms of generous indignation, upon the inhumanity of this exclusion, and stated that measures would be taken to lay the facts before the Legislature at its next session. He had never seen a more malignant and deplorable exhibition of prejudice. In view of it, language could not express the shame, and disgust, and horror which he felt.

Another fact, not less remarkable, was stated, that application had been made for the admission of a colored boy into the House of Reformation of Juvenile Offenders at South Boston, but that the application had been rejected. It appeared that hardly any doors but those of our State Prisons, were open to our colored brethren.

The Committee on expenses of Convention presented the following as their Report, which was accepted:

Resolved, That the members of this Convention, and other Gentlemen disposed, be and they are hereby requested to pay *one dollar each*, and that any Gentleman have the liberty of paying as much more as he may choose.

The Committee would add, that from the best information they have been able to get on this subject, the sum thus raised would defray the expense of the Hall, and of publishing the doings of the Convention.

Per order,

AARON PICKET,

Chairman of Committee.

Adjourned to meet at half past 7 o'clock in the evening.

EVENING SESSION.

The evening session of the Convention, for the passage of resolutions and the delivery of addresses, was opened with prayer by the Rev. Mr. Ide of Medway, followed by singing performed by the Juvenile Colored Choir, under the charge of Miss Susan Paul.

The President made a short but forcible address to the crowded assembly.

We have invited you this evening, he observed, to urge upon your minds, and your hearts, too, a most important subject. We would urge upon you a calm consideration of the sufferings of the millions for whom we plead. We are told, it is true, that the slaves at the South are vastly happier than the free colored population. But we do not believe it. We think we have abundant evidence that this is not the fact. Grant, for the mo-

ment, however, that it were true. Grant that the slaves *are* happier. What *sort* of happiness is it? What, indeed, but mere animal happiness? Grant, as it is insisted (which, however, we know is not the fact) that, as animals, the slaves are kindly treated. Still, we ask, what is done for their minds,—their immortal minds? Ay, what, indeed is done but to depress instead of elevate the immortal part of the human being, and keep down if possible, the growing thirst for liberty? And what guilt like this?—What is it but the highest sin which can be committed against a holy God? What but to sin against the life of the soul—to murder it!

Much has been said of late about an instance of soul murder which occurred in Europe. And though it now appears to have been a fiction, how have our feelings, from Maine to Georgia, and from the Atlantic to the 'far west,' been harrowed up by it? I allude to the story of Caspar Hauser. Yet have we not 2,000,000 of similar cases before our eyes, in our own country? And shall we remain indifferent? It must not—it cannot—it will not be. We appeal to you then, in behalf of these suffering, persecuted, soul destroyed millions. We beseech you to hear us, and consider and weigh well the matter—as Christians—as Christian patriots—as friends of humanity.

The following letter was read from Rev. Simeon S. Jocelyn of New-Haven, Ct.

NEW-HAVEN, May 24th, 1834.

B. C. BACON, Esq.

DEAR SIR—I regret exceedingly my inability to attend the New-England Anti-Slavery Convention at Boston, on the 27th inst. Being one of the individuals who publicly invited our friends to convene for the purposes which will be discussed at your meeting, it may be proper that I should express my regret to the Convention through you, that I cannot be with you in accordance with my strong desire.

I rejoice at the signs of the times, in reference to the spread of Gospel principles affecting the cause of the oppressed. These principles which we have proclaimed, and on which, under God, we rely for the temporal and spiritual salvation of the enslaved, and for the salvation of our country, will soon be so imbedded in the hearts of the people, that no sophistry can shake them, no power can retard their progress. Love of popularity, and the esteem of those who are in honorable and public stations, is so universal, that we should, in the sacred cause of Emancipation, be conscious of our danger when we see our principles of abolition deeply interesting the minds of not a few in important stations, who, but a short time since, not only denounced our measures, but disputed our principles, so as now to secure in a great

degree their consciences, and to lead them to act on the great question of American Slavery—for its overthrow. These men, among whom are many excellent, influential, and I may add, commanding minds, will either come into our Societies, or will, as is *already suggested*, attempt the formation of another national society, modified in its character, to embrace at once those who shrink from the immediate and death-like grasp with which we must under God lay hold of the monster, who laughs at the tears of the oppressed and riots in the blood of his victims. Should they come to us, fidelity to God, to the oppressed, and to their own souls, demands that we should hold up the simple and piercing doctrine of our Declaration for their adoption. Great kindness, patience and forbearance should be exercised towards men, who, on this subject, seem to look as through the veil which Colonization has placed before all eyes; but until they can espouse the whole truth, and defend our 'form of sound words,' they cannot claim our confidence, nor expect to direct in our councils. Our watchword, *Immediate Emancipation*, (said to be so revolting and indefinite,) cannot be bettered. It is the most graphic language descriptive of our doctrine, which man can invent. It must through all circumstances be retained, until it is lost in the jubilee of earth and heaven, when its objects of pity and love shall rise from the dust, and sing the song of deliverance. Whatever may be the course of others, and the attempts which may be made to accommodate their views to the multitude, let us remember that we shall prevail if we trust in the Lord, and lean not to our own understanding, nor to the views of those who would embrace us if we would consult with flesh and blood; so far at least as to humor, for the time being, the errors and prejudices which they deem of no importance, but which we deprecate as the pestilence which walketh in darkness, and wasteth at noon day. Let us at the throne of grace plead for wisdom to guide us in all our public assemblies, and in all our individual duties.

I am, dear Sir, yours,

In the cause of freedom and of Christ,
SIMEON S. JOCELYN.

Charles Stuart, Esq. of England, being introduced to the audience, offered the following resolution, which was seconded by the Rev. John M. S. Perry, and adopted unanimously, with the exception of a single No.

Resolved, That immediate emancipation is the only right and sufficient remedy for slavery.

On motion of Rev. S. L. Pomroy, of Bangor, seconded by Wm. Lloyd Garrison, it was unanimously

Resolved, That no valid objection can be urged against the principles and measures of the American Anti-Slavery Society.

Mr. James A. Thome, of Kentucky, was introduced, and offered a series of interesting and emphatic remarks upon the wickedness and evils of that prejudice which exists against the people of color.

Prof. Follen, of Cambridge, offered a resolution with reference to the expediency of forming an Emancipation Fund Society, which he supported in a short speech, and which, after some discussion, was laid upon the table.

The Rev. John O. Choules, of New-Bedford, made a brief but eloquent speech, at the conclusion of which the meeting adjourned to the next morning at 8 o'clock.

THURSDAY, May 29.

The Convention was opened with prayer by the Rev. John Frost, of Whitesboro', N. Y.

After reading the minutes of yesterday, the following letter was read from Mr. Robert B. Hall of New-Haven, and was put upon the files of the Convention :

NEW HAVEN, May 22, 1834.

MY DEAR SIR:—It is a source of unfeigned regret to me, to assure you, that I shall be unable to be present with you in the solemn convocation which you soon propose to hold, of the friends of immediate and universal emancipation. But, though detained by the providence of God from being with you in the body, my whole heart will be with you, with its most fervent supplications, for the blessing of the Almighty to abide upon you.

It is impossible for me to describe the intensity of interest with which I have looked forward to this Convention, regarding it as I do, as an event pregnant with momentous consequences to untold generations. Upon this meeting, under God, rests the solemn responsibility of determining what shall be the standard of public sentiment in our dear New-England, in reference to the abolition of slavery in this guilty land. And in determining what shall be the public sentiment of New-England, you solve, in my estimation, the great question, whether the principles of immediate emancipation shall prevail. New-England,—let them gainsay it who will,—New-England is the fountain of pure moral sentiment in this nation. It was so in the beginning of our national existence; it is so at this moment; and I trust in God it ever will be: for there are influences abroad here, preserving and purifying, which do not exist elsewhere on the globe. In the light of these sentiments, I look forward, then, with no slight degree of anxiety to the issue of your

deliberations. My faith is strong, however, that the pure principles of our cause will be preserved in their freshness and vigor—that strong, uncompromising attachment will be manifested to the simple doctrine which is the very corner-stone of our holy cause. A disposition has appeared within the last year, among many professed friends of the cause, to fritter away with needless explanations that sacred principle. Expunge the principle of *immediate* emancipation from our creed, nay, even adulterate it, and all is lost! We may go on—cheered with the smiles of the great—with all the potency which wealth can give us, and float upon the gliding billows of a deceitful popularity—but the glorious consummation which we so devoutly wish *will not, cannot* be accomplished:—for the blessing of our God will be withheld, and his withering frown will blast the designs of the timid and temporising.

There is one subject which lies very near my heart, which I hope will be brought before the convention; I refer to the Monthly Concert of Prayer, in behalf of the colored population. The importance of a regular observance of this sacred season, must be apparent to all who have just views of the nature of our cause, and of the source from which we may expect success. Our cause is eminently the cause of God; we know that he loves it—for we have the evidence of his word, and the broad seal of his Divine approbation. It is a remarkable fact also, as I have discovered by attentively observing the workings of his Providence, that *since this Concert has been established*, the cause has rolled forward with unparalleled velocity, and the friends of the slave have been multiplied, even as drops of the dew. What better means can be devised to reach the Christian's heart, than to bring him to the place 'where prayer is wont to be made,' and there spread out the wants of his suffering brethren, and call upon him to unite in the solemn petition for succor, to his Heavenly Father? It is through the Christian church mainly, I firmly believe, that the abolition of slavery is to be brought about. While the church sleeps on, and suffers her powerful energies to be paralyzed by the fell demon, no hope remains. And who but God, with the gentle strivings of his Holy Spirit, can arouse her from this fearful slumber? And has he not declared that it is his will, that for this thing also he will be 'inquired of'? Let us, then, realise the importance of this measure, and let our conduct evince that our professions in reference to this subject, are not insincere.

I do most ardently hope that the convention will appreciate this subject, and by energetic and united endeavors, will strive to secure a general and punctual observance of this season.

While you are engaged in the holy work, in which it will not be my privilege to bear a part, may the blessing of the Highest overshadow you, and direct all your deliberations for the advancement of his glory, and the good of our fellow men!

I am, my dear Sir, with cordial esteem,
Your humble co-worker in the best of causes,

ROBERT B. HALL.

SAMUEL E. SEWALL, Esq.

Mr. Garrison, from the Committee on the best means of effecting a more complete co-operation and union among the abolitionists of New-England, made a verbal report, upon which it was

Voted, That the Committee have leave to sit again, with instructions to prepare an address, agreeably to the suggestions in the report now presented.

The Convention then instructed the Committee that they define the fundamental principle of anti-slavery to be *immediate emancipation without expatriation*.

On motion of Rev. Mr. Woodbury, it was

Resolved, That the true doctrine of anti-slavery is, *immediate and unconditional emancipation*.

Voted, That the committee on expenses of Convention be authorized and requested, through their Chairman, to employ some one of their number, or some other person, to collect the dues that shall remain unpaid, so far as is practicable, after the adjournment of this Convention, and to settle the expenses.

Mr. B. C. Bacon was appointed to make collections, &c. in accordance with the foregoing vote.

Voted, That the collection taken last evening and the collection to be taken this evening be paid to the Treasurer of the New-England Anti-Slavery Society, in consideration of their early and severe struggles in the cause, and in consideration of their present wants.

The Committee appointed to make inquiry respecting the interest taken in the Anti-Slavery cause, and to obtain facts, made a report which was accepted.

On motion of Mr. Garrison,

Resolved, That it be recommended to the friends of abolition to celebrate, by appropriate services, the first of August, 1834, it being the day on which the slaves in the British Colonies cease to be property.

On motion of Rev. J. V. Himes, it was unanimously

Resolved, That this Convention earnestly recommend to all Christians, who are friendly to the *immediate emancipation* of the slaves

in the United States, to meet on the fourth Monday evening in each month, to make supplications unto God, that He would save the nation from the dreadful judgments that we so justly deserve; that He would have mercy upon slaveholders, by leading them to immediate and heartfelt repentance; that His blessing may attend the efforts made for the immediate emancipation of the slaves.

The Committee on the Domestic Slave Trade made an elaborate report on that subject, stating some most appalling facts as to its nature and extent, and showing clearly that Congress have the right to abolish it between the several States.

On motion of William Oakes, Esq. of Ipswich,

Resolved, That we rejoice in the exertions now making by our free colored brethren to improve and elevate their intellectual, moral, and religious character; and while every encouragement and assistance ought to be given to these efforts, we hope that every free colored man will feel that a *double responsibility* is now laid upon him—that upon his conduct not only depends *his own* welfare, but in a great degree that of *his race*—and that all will therefore endeavor, by constant well doing, to put to silence the voice of prejudice and persecution.

Mr. Oakes observed, that our colored friends, in general, already felt as they ought on this subject. Their late unparalleled exertions for their improvement with little assistance, and their great and increasing success, showed how intensely they felt their situation and their responsibilities. But he wished that this responsibility could be brought home to every colored man. Every misconduct or crime committed by a colored man adds one link to the iron chain of prejudice and cruelty, with which they are now bound. Many will feel for their friends, who care little for themselves. Tell, then, every colored man who is guilty of any misconduct, that by this he is only assisting the enemies of his race in their exertions to perpetuate their degradation; and when you have thus induced him to act for the benefit of others, you may also hope to lead him to act for the benefit of himself.

The Committee appointed to inquire into the expediency of recommending to the American Anti-Slavery Society, to make the offer of a premium of such amount as they shall deem proper on certain articles produced by free labor in any part of the United States, made a report which was accepted.

On motion of David L. Child, Esq. of Boston,

Resolved, That it is the duty of all the friends and well wishers of the anti-slavery cause, to inquire out, and encourage with

their custom and their influence, those taverns, stages, and steamboats, which receive and accommodate our colored fellow citizens, without making an illiberal and disgraceful distinction either of charges or of treatment on account of color.

Voted, That Mr. Child be requested to furnish facts in relation to the abuse of colored persons, in respect to conveyance in steam-boats and stages.

On motion of Mr. Henry E. Benson, of Brooklyn,

Resolved, That ministers of the gospel, of all denominations, favorable to the anti-slavery cause, be respectfully and earnestly requested to deliver addresses on this subject on the ensuing Fourth of July, and take up collections in aid of the funds of the American Anti-Slavery Society.

On motion of Mr. Healy, of Pawtucket,

Resolved, That this Convention instruct the committee on a Manual Labor School, to issue a circular to the Presidents of the several Anti-Slavery Societies, requesting them to lay the subject of the subscription for raising funds for the establishment of a Manual Labor School, before the people in their vicinity, inviting them to subscribe to this noble object, and pay the same over to the Treasurer of each Society, and he transmit the same to the Treasurer of the New-England Anti-Slavery Society, or such other person as may be appointed to receive the same.

On motion of Rev. C. P. Grosvenor, seconded by Mr. Barbadoes,

Resolved, That the interests of the Anti-Slavery cause demand that special efforts be made to multiply the subscribers to the Liberator.

On motion of Samuel E. Sewall, Esq.

Resolved, That a Committee of five be appointed to aid in extending the patronage of the Liberator. Messrs. Samuel E. Sewall, Wm. Oakes, C. P. Grosvenor, Jas. G. Barbadoes, and H. E. Benson, were appointed on that Committee.

On motion of Mr. James G. Barbadoes,

Resolved, That Messrs. Garrison and Knapp deserve the gratitude of the colored people and their friends, for their persevering exertions in pleading the cause of the oppressed.

On motion of Mr. John T. Hilton, of Boston,

Resolved, That having put our hands to the Plough of Liberty, we give our sacred pledge never to look back, until every root and branch of the noxious principle of slavery shall be exterminated from the American soil.

The Committee appointed to draft an address to the Churches of the United States, reported an address which was adopted.

On motion of Ellis G. Loring, Esq. of Boston,

Resolved, That all laws of the New-England States, creating distinctions between the whites and colored persons, should be repealed, as contrary to reason, religion, and the theory of our institutions.

On motion of Rev. Charles J. Warren, of Weymouth,

Resolved, That it be recommended to the friends of immediate emancipation to hold Conventions, for the full discussion of this subject, in the several Counties, or other more convenient portions of our country.

On motion of Nathan Winslow of Portland, Me.

Resolved, That this Convention contemplates with high satisfaction the formation of Female Anti-Slavery Societies; and that it regards the general co-operation of American females, in the sacred cause of emancipation, essential to the overthrow of slavery in this republic.

On motion of Albert Hinckley, of Pomfret, Ct.

Resolved, That Miss Prudence and Miss Almira Crandall merit the warmest approbation of all friends of the colored race, for their persevering and untiring exertions to educate colored females, under a most bitter and unchristian persecution.

Voted, That the Committee appointed to prepare an Address to the People, be requested to publish it with the proceedings of the Convention.

On motion of Rev. Mr. Grosvenor, of Salem,

Resolved, That the thanks of this Convention are cordially tendered to the President for the courtesy, dignity, and patience with which he has presided during the long and laborious session now about to terminate.

On motion of Samuel E. Sewall, Esq. of Boston,

Resolved, That the thanks of this Convention be given to the Rev. Mr. Perry, and Mr. B. C. Bacon, the Secretaries, for the very faithful and attentive manner in which they have performed their laborious duties.

At a very solemn and impressive prayer by the President, it was, on motion,

Voted, To adjourn to half past seven o'clock in the evening.

THURSDAY EVENING.

The meeting was opened with prayer by Rev. George Bourne, of New-York.

The President made a few impressive introductory remarks; after which a Hymn was sung with great sweetness, skill and effect by Miss Paul and her scholars.

On motion of Rev. Mr. Bourne,

Resolved, That as slaveholding is contrary to the law of God and the precepts of Christianity; and as slaveholders can exhibit no just claim to be acknowledged as christians, the existing connection of slavery with the Christian Churches in the United States is inconsistent with the character of pure and undefiled religion; and therefore ought immediately to be destroyed.

On motion of Rev. John Frost, of Whitesboro', N. Y.

Resolved, That the doctrine of expediency, i. e. resolving our views of the consequences of an action the ground of duty, instead of the known will of God or the acknowledged principles of rectitude, is fraught with danger to the interests of the church, and tends inevitably to subvert the dearest rights of man.

Rev. John Blain of Pawtucket next addressed the meeting upon the subject of slavery in general, in an impressive speech.

On motion of Mr. Thome of Kentucky,

Resolved, That the principles of the Anti-Slavery Society commend themselves to the consciences and interests of slaveholders; and that recent developements indicate the speedy triumph of our cause.

Voted, That the thanks of this meeting be given to Miss Paul and her scholars, for the excellent entertainment they have furnished us this evening.

Adjourned, sine die.

S. J. MAY, *President.*

J. M. S. PERRY, }
B. C. BACON, } *Secretaries.*

REPORTS.

REPORT ON SLAVERY IN THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA.

The Committee on Slavery in the District of Columbia, respectfully reports as follows:

The District of Columbia contained in 1830, 6050 slaves.

This District, it cannot be disputed, is under the exclusive jurisdiction of the government of the United States. That government, therefore, has the right of abolishing slavery there. And the people of the United States, as a nation, are responsible for the

guilt and shame of the further continuance of the system there.

The toleration of slavery at the seat of government has rendered it the centre of a great traffic in slaves, and led to other enormous abuses. The great duty of abolishing slavery and the slave trade in the District of Columbia, will be evident from the following preamble to resolutions on the subject, introduced by Mr. Miner, before the House of Representatives in 1829.

'Whereas the laws in respect to slavery within the District have been almost entirely neglected; from which neglect, for nearly 30 years, have grown numerous and gross corruptions.

'Slave dealers, gaining confidence from impunity, have made the seat of federal government their head quarters for carrying on the domestic slave trade.

'The public prisons have been extensively used, (perverted for the purposes for which they were erected,) for carrying on the domestic slave trade.

'Officers of the federal government have been employed, and derive emoluments from carrying on the domestic slave trade.

'Private and secret prisons exist in the district for carrying on the traffic in human beings.

'The trade is not confined to those who are slaves for life; but persons having a limited time to serve, are bought by the slave dealers, and sent where redress is hopeless.

'Others are kidnapped and hurried away before they can be rescued.

'Instances of death, from the anguish of despair, exhibited in the District, mark the cruelty of this traffic.

'Instances of maiming and suicide, executed or attempted, have been exhibited, growing out of this traffic within the District.

'Free persons of color coming into the District, are liable to arrest, imprisonment, and sold into slavery for life, for jail fees, if unable, from ignorance, misfortune, or fraud, to prove their freedom.

'Advertisements beginning, 'We will give cash for one hundred likely young negroes of both sexes, from eight to twenty-five years old,' contained in the public prints of the city, under the notice of Congress, indicate the openness and extent of the traffic.

'Scenes of human beings exposed at public vendue are exhibited here, permitted by the laws of the general government.

'A grand jury of the district has presented the slave trade as a grievance.

'A writer in a public print in the District has set forth 'that to those who have never seen a spectacle of the kind (exhibited by the slave trade) no description can give an adequate idea of its horrors.'

'To such an extent had this trade been carried in 1816, that a member of Congress from Virginia introduced a resolution in the House, 'That a committee be appointed to inquire into the existence of an *inhuman* and *illegal* traffic in slaves carried on in and through the District of Columbia, and report whether any, and what measures are necessary for putting a stop to the same.'

'The House of Representatives of Pennsylvania, at their last session, by an almost unanimous vote, expressed the opinion, 'that slavery within the District of Columbia ought to be abolished.'

'Numerous petitions from various parts of the Union have been presented to Congress, praying for the revision of the laws in respect to slavery, and the gradual abolition of slavery within the District.

'A petition was presented at the last session of Congress, signed by more than one thousand inhab-

itants of the District, praying for the gradual abolition of slavery therein.'

The facts stated in this preamble are unquestionable.

The Committee do not think it necessary to adduce arguments, to prove that it is the duty of the people of the United States to abolish the atrocious and inhuman system which disgraces the seat of our government. Justice, religion, and humanity, all cry out against it. Its abolition has been deferred so long, not because the people of the United States approve it, but because the citizens of the Northern States have not yet had the moral courage to express the feelings which they really entertain on the subject. It is because they have been unwilling to offend their Southern brethren, by proclaiming disagreeable truths. It is the pusillanimity of the north, which is the soul of slavery and the slave trade in the District of Columbia.

This system, which is thus supported by the prejudices of the South and the fears of the North, can be abolished, by an open and persevering attack upon it. Nothing is wanting for this purpose, but strenuous and united exertion. The people are becoming every day more and more convinced that it ought no longer to be tolerated.

The Committee therefore recommend the adoption of the following resolutions:

Resolved, That it be recommended to every anti-slavery society to send a petition to Congress at its next session, for the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia.

Resolved, That the following form of a petition for this purpose is approved by this Convention, and is recommended in cases in which no other form is convenient.

To the Honorable Senate and House of Representatives of the United States, in Congress assembled.

The petition of the undersigned, citizens of _____, respectfully represents—That they consider the toleration of Slavery in the District of Columbia, as inconsistent with justice, humanity, and Christianity.

Your petitioners will not dwell upon the rights of six thousand fellow men, whom the laws of the United States retain in abject servitude, or the physical, moral, and political evils which spring directly from Slavery. But, in addition to these reasons for the interference of Congress, the Domestic Slave Trade, of which this District is the seat, is an enormous abuse which calls loudly for redress. The District of Columbia is a great market to which human flesh and blood are almost daily sent for sale, from the neighboring States, and there sold again to supply the markets of the more remote South. Your petitioners need not call to your recollection the cruelties which accompany this traffic, the fetters which bind the Slaves, the whips with which they are driven, the auctions at which they are sold. These are

sights often before your eyes. Public and private prisons in the District are crowded with the wretched subjects of this trade. Besides this, the permission of this traffic often leads to the enslaving of free men, who are sometimes kidnaped by violence, and sometimes sold under the laws which Congress permits.

The laws in relation to people of color, which have been passed by the city of Washington, and suffered by Congress, are inhuman and disgraceful to a civilized community.

Your petitioners, therefore, pray, that Congress will, without delay, pass a statute to abolish, immediately, Slavery in the District of Columbia; to declare every person coming into the District free; to annul all the regulations and ordinances of any municipal corporation there, which make any distinction of right between persons of different colors; and to provide for the education of all colored children in the District.*

JOHN BLAIN, *Chairman.*

* *NOTE.* The abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia can never be accomplished until the people send representatives to Congress, who are prepared to take a decisive stand in favor of this measure. It is, therefore, earnestly recommended to abolitionists, in every section of the country, to ascertain the opinions of candidates for Congress, upon this great subject, previously to the next election. Every candidate should be called on to declare explicitly whether he is in favor of the *immediate abolition* of slavery in the District of Columbia. If he is, let him be voted for. But if he is not, or if he will not answer the question directly and unequivocally, then the friends of abolition should set up a candidate for themselves, whose course they can depend upon.

The question, whether the people of the United States, as a nation, shall tolerate slavery at the seat of government, we consider as more important than any other which is likely to come before Congress. It is a great question of moral principle,—whether the nation shall continue to foster and encourage crime. Compared with this, all controversies of mere political expediency sink into insignificance. The nation incurs no guilt by adopting a tariff of high or one of low duties, or by establishing or refusing to establish a national bank. But who can measure the guilt incurred by denying our fellow citizens their rights as men?

This note is written without any authority from the Convention or the Committee, and is therefore only to be considered as expressing the views of individuals. It is, however, believed that most abolitionists will concur in the opinions we have expressed.

REPORT ON THE PROGRESS OF THE ANTI-SLAVERY CAUSE.

The Committee, appointed to make inquiry respecting the interest taken in the Anti-Slavery cause and to obtain facts, have attended to their duty, and beg leave to report.

Your Committee have not obtained all the information they could wish, but have re-

ceived communications from several delegates, and those of an interesting character.

The community, your Committee are ready to say, are waking up to this all important subject. The scales are falling from their eyes; one here and another there is enlisting on our side. The communications in detail, your Committee have no doubt, would be interesting to the Convention; but since most of the important facts have appeared in the *Liberator* and other public prints, some of which are considerable long, and since the time of the Convention is very precious at this late moment, your Committee would recommend the adoption of the following resolution:

That the reading of the communications be dispensed with, and referred to the Committee chosen to publish the doings of this Convention.

All which is respectfully submitted.

H. P. WAKEFIELD, *Chairman.*

ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY OF SALEM AND VICINITY.

The Society was organized Jan. 27, 1834. —Present number of members, 420; and many more are known to be ready to sign the Constitution. Among the members are 11 clergymen. The Society has held eight public meetings since its organization, and issued 1000 copies of its constitution. It has also published 1500 copies of an address delivered before the members, at their request, by their President.

This Society has been the cause of exciting a spirit of inquiry among very many of the people of Salem and vicinity. Rev. S. J. May has recently lectured in Danvers, and also in Salem, on the subject of Slavery, which will have a very favorable influence in exciting the minds of the people to this important subject. Our cause is evidently gaining ground very rapidly among the people of Salem and vicinity.

Per request of a committee of the Society.

RUFUS PUTNAM, *Rec. Sec.*

LOWELL ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

The Lowell Anti-Slavery Society was formed in March last, with about 60 members, to whom a few have since been added. A previous attempt to organize had been defeated, by the intrusion upon the meeting of some opponents of abolition; since that time, the Society has met with no opposition. Owing to providential hindrances, the Society has had but two public meetings for the diffusion of light; and their success has not

yet been great. There are, however, many minds in Lowell which are deeply engaged in the cause, and which will not suffer it to rest till their numbers be multiplied and the community aroused.

ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY OF NEWBURYPORT AND VICINITY.

The Anti-Slavery Society of Newburyport and Vicinity (intended to embrace Newburyport and that part of Newbury immediately contiguous to Newburyport,) dates its organization April 1, 1834, with 110 members; it now numbers 160. During the present month, (May,) a Female Anti-Slavery Society has been formed, commencing with 117, and now numbering 175 members.

The cause of immediate emancipation, without any particular recent impulse, and although unsupported if not opposed by the more influential part of our community generally, is gradually progressing, and taking deeper and wider hold upon the minds of our citizens. The Society has met and continues to meet with opposition, and is particularly incommoded by the difficulty of obtaining suitable places for meetings of a public character. This difficulty, however, is at least partially removed; yet the doors of our churches are reluctantly, if at all, thrown open to the Society. The monthly Concert of prayer, for the Abolition of Slavery is observed with considerable and increasing interest. The friends of the cause look with confidence at these meetings, believing that they will be productive, as much as any other cause, of the diffusion of the principles of pure Christian liberty. In the neighboring towns—Newbury and West Newbury, as yet no effort has been made for the formation of Anti-Slavery Societies. There are, however, fast friends of the cause in both these places, who are desirous of organized action, and who would be stimulated to associate themselves, if the subject were once publicly brought before their fellow-citizens. Societies, no doubt, could be easily formed, and an impetus given to the cause of universal liberty, in a community always ready for every good word and work.

ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY OF AMHERST.

The Amherst College Anti-Slavery Society has been organized one year.

About 6 or 8 members convened in the room of one of the students, *with closed doors*, where, after discussing the propriety of such proceedings, they formed themselves into a Society, and appointed a committee to draft a constitution, resolving to observe secrecy in relation to the subject, because of the great opposition then existing against the

principles of Abolitionists. Shortly, however, they determined to make known the existence and objects of the Society; and although opposed by the great majority in College, by the discussions in the weekly meetings of the Society, such an interest was excited as in a short time to increase our numbers to upwards of 50, for some of whom we are indebted to Colonization addresses delivered in the institution. Formerly, the principles of Anti-Slavery were met with uncompromising ridicule—now every body is an Anti-Slavery man, 'only the Anti-Slavery and Colonization Societies should run in harmonious parallel!!' All men of right principles see this to be impossible; for the Colonization Society advocates *gradual abolition*, which is a contradiction in terms, while the Anti-Slavery Society advocates *immediate abolition*, which is common sense. We have made some efforts towards educating our colored neighbors, and we have had offers of aid from Colonizationists.

T. HERVEY,
A. GRAY,
E. PRITCHETT, } Delegates.

WINDHAM CO. ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

The Windham Co. Anti-Slavery Society was formed on the first of May inst. at Brooklyn. Among its officers are some of the first men for respectability, influence and talent in the country. Its President (George Benson) is a veteran abolitionist, who imbibed his sentiments of slavery from the noble philanthropists who, forty or fifty years ago, were contending against the slave trade. Some of its officers, however, are new recruits in this glorious war. One of the Vice Presidents, in particular, though now a firm and zealous abolitionist, was but a little more than a year ago, strongly opposed to the abolition faith. He owes his conversion to the perusal, in the Christian Spectator, of an attempt of Rev. Leonard Bacon, of New-Haven, to reply to Mr. Garrison's 'Thoughts on Colonization.'

READING ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

The Reading Anti-Slavery Society was organized in March, 1833. The present number of members is about 60. Addresses have been delivered by W. L. Garrison, Oliver Johnson, Amasa Walker, and Horace P. Wakefield. Resolutions have been introduced and defended by D. L. Child, S. E. Sewall, and N. Southard. A lively interest has been taken by the members. There is no decided opposition: but on a large mass of the community no impression can be made. They are neither cold nor hot. A

Female Anti-Slavery Society was organized about the same time: it now numbers over 70, some of whom are mothers in Israel, and in the cause of Anti-Slavery.

UXBRIDGE ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

The Uxbridge Anti-Slavery Society was organized in March of the present year. Addresses have been delivered by Effingham L. Capron, Ray Potter, and Samuel J. May. The Society is composed of about 450 members, male and female, 50 of whom belong to neighboring towns. There is no open opposition.

SOUTH READING ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

The Anti-Slavery Society of South Reading was formed in April, 1834—is now in a prosperous condition, consisting of about 90 members, one fourth of whom are females. We have had one public address from Mr. Garrison. There is no decided opposition, but a want of interest, which may be attributed to the want of information.

PROVIDENCE ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

The Providence Anti-Slavery Society was organized in June, 1833. It originated chiefly from the efforts of only three or four individuals, who became deeply interested in the cause by reading the Liberator, and other publications on the subject of slavery. At its formation, about a dozen of the citizens of Providence, and about half that number from Pawtucket, came forward and signed the constitution. Since that time, the Society has done all in its power towards disseminating light and truth upon the subject. They have operated upon the public mind by christian measures, and have endeavored, through kind persuasive means, to lead all within the sphere of their influence to embrace the principles which they themselves have adopted, and to lend their aid in behalf of the suffering slave, and the overthrow of the most abominable and detestable system that ever disgraced the world. In November, agreeably to their Constitution, they held their first annual meeting, at which resolutions were introduced and supported, and a report from their Executive Committee read. This report, with their Constitution and a synopsis of the meeting, was immediately published and extensively circulated, not only throughout the city, but in many parts of the state. It was doubtless a means, through the blessing of God, of awakening many a slumbering soul, and arousing many a benevolent heart to see aright on this great subject, and leading them to act consistently with the dic-

tates of a pure and enlightened conscience. Many addresses have likewise been delivered, and a large number of tracts put in circulation through their influence—the effects of which, it is hoped, will yet be extensively felt. Through the past winter, they have held weekly meetings, in which resolutions, explanatory of their principles, have been discussed, and such other measures adopted as were thought most likely to advance the cause. But the Society has not yet obtained that place in the hearts and affections of the people, to which, on account of its pure and holy principles, it is so richly entitled. Notwithstanding all its labors and exertions, only between 50 and 60 individuals have enrolled themselves under its banner. But the few that have embraced the cause are true men,—sound in principle—united in effort—and devoted heart and soul to the accomplishment of the great work. And they are worth, too, a thousand half principled men, who only clog the Anti-Slavery wheels, and throw obstacles in the plain and undeviating path which they are endeavoring to pursue. And why have they accomplished no more? Why have they not revolutionized the city, and taken possession of every heart? It is because a deep-rooted and shameful prejudice is there—a prejudice which forbids even the examination of these principles—a prejudice which has bolted the doors of the houses of public worship against them, and controlled the voice of the press. It is because that out of fourteen settled clergymen in the city, not *one* has had the boldness and independence to come forward, and unite himself with them, and to preach the glorious truths of the gospel of Christ, which proclaims liberty to the captive.—There has been a timidity exhibited on the part of the clergy, which no excuse can possibly justify. Thousands are thirsting for the truth, and looking up with implicit confidence to their spiritual leaders for instruction; and yet through fear it is withheld. What an awful responsibility!

This is a brief sketch of what they have done, and of the obstacles with which they have had to contend. Through the blessing of Almighty God, they intend still to labor in the cause, and to do all in their power towards the full restoration of the inalienable rights of more than two millions of their colored countrymen, believing that their efforts will be finally crowned with success.

ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY OF PAWTUCKET, R. I.

Some two or three years since, a layman, (Mr. RUFUS BLISS) became very much interested in the anti-slavery cause, through the instrumentality of the Liberator. He began to *work*—obtained a number of copies

of 'Thoughts on Colonization,' and spread them—talked with his neighbors. Two other laymen (Joseph Sisson and Wm. Adams) also labored assiduously in the same manner. R. Potter was an abolitionist, but having hold of *another* horn of the beast at that time, thought he was not called to give *particular attention* to it. He thought, however, all this time, that the Colonization Society was a kind of an Abolition Society, until A. Buffum came and lectured in his house, and read the Constitution of that Society, when he renounced it forthwith—and also in consequence of the position assumed by the Boston Atlas, and other kindred prints, shewing a disposition to gag Abolitionists. He therefore determined to 'rise up and work.' R. Potter, R. Bliss, and Wm. Adams united in the formation of the Providence Anti-Slavery Society. R. Potter prepared and delivered an address in his own house at Pawtucket to a small audience. He was requested to repeat it; perhaps ten times as many were out. About this time, Rev. J. Blain took up his residence in Pawtucket; and in the mean time, two members of the Society of Friends, Mr. Joseph Healy and Mr. Samuel Foster, the latter of whom had been engaged in the cause in the State of Maine, stepped forward, and put their shoulder to the work, as did a number of other individuals. As soon as the subject was fairly opened to Mr. Blain, he took hold like a man and a Christian, without feeling the popular pulse, or asking liberty of any man to do right. R. Potter repeated his address in Mr. Blain's house to a thronged audience—a Society was organized subsequently. We have not near so many names as we might have obtained—(about seventy)—we want only those who are *died in the wool*. Mr. Blain has delivered two addresses. We scatter the seed as we have opportunity all around us in adjacent towns. It is marvelous in our eyes, to see the simultaneous waking up to this subject all through these regions. The fields seem all white, ready for the harvest.

ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY OF PLAINFIELD AND VICINITY, CONN.

At the commencement of last year, the doctrines and principles of the Abolitionists, and even the existence of the New-England Anti-Slavery Society, were almost utterly unknown in Plainfield, and very little better known in the neighboring towns. Two or three colored persons in the vicinity took the Liberator, but scarcely any body, except colored people, thought the paper worth reading: and, indeed, the whole community might be said to be fast asleep on the subject of the rights and *wrongs* of our colored population, bond and free. In February of

1833, however, an event occurred, which roused people from their slumber, and prepared the way for the diffusion of light on the subject. This was the annunciation by Miss Crandall, of her intention to open a school for colored females in Canterbury, within four miles of Plainfield village. There were a few in both towns, and others around, who received the intelligence with heartfelt joy—some, perhaps with very little feeling either way; but almost every voice which was raised, was to utter the disgust or horror which such a project excited. What! locate a school for colored persons in the very heart of a pleasant village, where hitherto the sable or tawny hue was known only as a badge of ignorance and degradation! The idea was preposterous. The violence of opposition which was at once roused is well known, not only through this country, but across the Atlantic. But this violence served to defeat its own object. The cry on every side was, that Miss Crandall intended to teach the incendiary doctrines of the Abolitionists; and people, roused by the din to attend to the subject, were naturally curious to know what these pernicious doctrines were. Slavery, and its attendant and consequent evils, became the topic of conversation in the corners of the streets, in the social circle, and at the domestic fireside. Some read with candor, and others even who began to read with prejudice against them, the publications of the fanatics, found their prejudice wearing away; and several who were at first strongly opposed to Miss Crandall's scheme, and to the Abolitionists, as well as altogether in favor of Colonization, are now our most zealous and active Abolitionists; and one at least of this class may be found in the delegation from our Society to this Convention.

The question of Colonization and Abolition was discussed at the public exhibition of the Academy in April, and during the summer term it continued with much spirit, in the ordinary exercises in composition and declamation. The effect was happy. Converts were made to the Abolition faith, and a meeting was called to be holden on the third of July, 1834, to consider the subject, and if it should be thought advisable, to form an Anti-Slavery Society. The weather being unfavorable, the meeting was adjourned to August 20th, when the Anti-Slavery Society of Plainfield and Vicinity was formed, consisting of 43 members, male and female. Three or four towns were represented, among them the far famed town of Canterbury; but most of the members were citizens of Plainfield. Since its formation, the Society has held meetings in Plainfield, Pomfret, Abington and Brooklyn, at which addresses were delivered, besides which, several members have visited and addressed the people in dif-

ferent villages in Killingly, Pomfret and Woodstock. The meetings have, in almost every instance, been well attended, and sometimes crowded, and accessions have been made in each of the above named towns, till the Society now numbers about one hundred members.

At the annual meeting of the Windham County Colonization Society, much alarm was manifested at the rapid spread of Abolitionism, and the necessity of extraordinary efforts to counteract the heresy was urged upon the Society. Accordingly, measures were taken to secure the county from the dangerous infection. It was voted that meetings be from that time held quarterly, and addresses be delivered in different parts of the county, and agents in every town were appointed to take up collections, organise auxiliaries, and in any way promote the cause of Colonization. Among these agents is the arch opposer of Miss Crandall's benevolent efforts for educating her colored sisters, the author of the disgraceful black law of Connecticut, ANDREW T. JENSON. The first quarterly meeting was holden in North Killingly, in September, when the Colonization orator had the satisfaction of addressing about 25 or 30 persons, and such was the success of this first attempt, that a second seems to have been thought wholly unnecessary, as none has since been holden.

At the second meeting of the Anti-Slavery Society in September, it was voted to invite the County Colonization Society to discuss publicly with them, by disputants selected from each body, the points on which the societies differ. This vote was communicated to the Secretary of the Colonization Society, but the invitation has never been accepted. Some time last fall, however, Mr. Garrison being in Brooklyn, a meeting was called, at which the friends of colonization were invited to speak. Some discussion ensued, and the impression was favorable to the Anti-Slavery cause. A discussion has also been holden in North Killingly this spring, in the building where last fall the quarterly colonization address was delivered, and the sense of the audience on the question being taken after the debate, nearly all present declared for abolition, and no hand was raised for colonization, except by the disputants on that side.

In conclusion it may be remarked, that though a majority of the people in Plainfield and its vicinity still hold themselves aloof from our society, and do not assent to our principles; yet these principles are steadily gaining ground, and are much less violently opposed than they were a year, or six months ago; and it may be added, that it is believed none have cordially and impartially examined the doctrines of the Abolitionists, without becoming converts to them.

REPORT ON THE SLAVE TRADE.

The Committee on the Domestic Slave Trade of the United States, ask leave respectfully to submit the following Report :

The Federal Constitution, in the same clause, which empowers Congress to regulate commerce with foreign countries and the Indian tribes, also authorizes it to regulate commerce among the several States. The three subjects, foreign commerce, commerce with the Indian nations, and between the different States, stand on precisely the same footing. It was so well understood at the time of framing the constitution, that the power to abolish the *foreign* slave trade was conferred by the above-mentioned clause, that it was thought necessary by dealers in the flesh of foreigners, and by their patrons and instigators, the slaveholders here, to except from the operation of that clause, the trade to Africa and other places abroad. 'Twenty years' continuance of unutterable woes and unpunishable crimes, was stipulated and guaranteed by us to the *republican* masters and traders of slaves. And this plenary indulgence to the South to sin during that term, was one of the items in that price of principle, which the North paid for the Union! How completely does this fact put the seal of hypocrisy upon that boast, which has been so often made by masters in the slave States, and oftener by their apologists in the free, that Virginia *did* petition his majesty George the III. to prohibit the foreign traffic, which his majesty in Council refused to do. Even if this were done with earnestness, good faith, and right motives, which we deem very problematical, it was more than cancelled by the pertinacious and unprincipled demand of that shocking stipulation for the continued existence of the traffic, when it was about to expire without their aid, and would have expired but for their opposition! When we view that stipulation in connection with the slave representation in Congress, and the power and influence which it exerts upon every ramification and measure of the Government, and upon every important interest of society, our sorrow and indignation cannot fail to be at the highest, and to defy the power of language adequately to give it utterance. By these provisions *combined*, the slave States acquired an ascendancy in the Government, in proportion as they committed crime; the right to give law to a free country, in proportion as they violated the rights of freedom;

and thus political power, the dearest object of earthly ambition, (including as it does the control of the purses and employments of the people, and the honors and emoluments of the Government,) was given as a bounty for murder, and every other crime destructive and brutalizing to the bodies and souls of men.*

But the domestic trade, which is now carried on in these States, without an attempt to restrain it, does not differ essentially from the foreign. In its great and leading characteristics, it is the same. It is commenced and attended in its progress by the same heart-breaking separations from kindred, friends, and home—the same terror, anguish, and despair; it is conducted with the same violence, kidnapping, and in case of resistance or pursuit, murder and massacre, as in Africa; and it is unquestionably accompanied with more fraud than was ever perpetrated on the African coast. Your Committee feel it their duty, at the risk of being thought tedious, to illustrate by facts the tremendous guilt and misery of this business.

Hezekiah Niles, Esq. editor and publisher of the Baltimore Weekly Register, is situated in the focus of the domestic slave trade. He has ever shown himself, though a *feeling*, yet a faithful apologist of slaveholders. His testimony, therefore, so far as it is against those persons, and their agents and *protegees*, (for slave traders are nothing more,) is peculiarly valuable. It is the confessions of the adversary. To that testimony your committee invite your attention.

In the Register for 1829, vol. 35, p. 4, we find the following statement, under the head of '*Kidnapping*.'

'The Winchester (Va.) Republican has an interesting narrative of a case of kidnapping, in which a

* In a very late work, entitled 'Transatlantic Sketches, comprising visits to the most interesting scenes in North and South America and the West Indies, with notes on negro Slavery and Canadian Emigration, by Capt. J. E. Alexander, of the British Army, London, 1833,' we find the following passage :

'The most remarkable circumstance connected with slavery in America is the following. A planter in Louisiana, of forty years standing, assured me that there are a set of miscreants in the city of New-Orleans, who are connected with the slave traders of Cuba, and who at certain periods proceed up the Mississippi as far as the Fourche mouth, which they descend in large row boats, and meet off the coast slave ships. These they relieve of their cargoes, and returning to the main stream of the Mississippi, they drop down it in covered flat bottomed boats or arks, and dispose of the negroes to those who want them.' Vol. 2. p. 26.

woman was rescued, though the wretch who sold her to a trader in human flesh escaped. Dealing in slaves has become a LARGE BUSINESS. Establishments are made at several places in Maryland and Virginia, at which they are sold like cattle. These places of deposit are strongly built, and well supplied with iron thumb-screws and gags, and ornamented with cow-skias and other whips,—oftentimes bloody. But the laws of these states permit the traffic, and it is suffered. *All good men obey the laws.*¹

Dr. Jesse Torrey, of Philadelphia, one of the earliest, and therefore most meritorious laborers in the anti-slavery field, has collected a number of cases, from which your Committee select a few, recommending to all who hear this report, to read Dr. Torrey's book.²

A youth, having learned the subject on which I was occupied, and being prompt to communicate whatever he might meet with relative to it, informed me, on returning from school on the evening of the 13th of December, 1815, that a black woman destined for transportation to Georgia, with a colic about to start, attempted to escape, by jumping out of the window of a garret of a three-story brick tavern in F street, about day break in the morning; and that in the fall she had her back and both arms broken. I remarked that I did not wonder; and inquired whether it had not killed her! to which he replied that he understood she was dead, and that the *Georgia-men* had gone off with the others. The relation of this shocking disaster excited considerable agitation in my mind, and fully confirmed the sentiments, which I had already adopted and recorded, of the multiplied horrors added to slavery, when its victims are bought and sold, frequently for distant destinations, with as much indifference as four-footed beasts. Supposing this to be a recent occurrence, and being desirous of seeing the mangled slave before she was buried, I proceeded with haste early on the following morning in search of the house. Calling at one near where the catastrophe occurred, I was informed that it had been three weeks since it took place, and that the woman was still living. I found the house, and having obtained permission of the landlord to see her, I was conducted by a lad to her room. On entering the room, I observed her lying upon a bed on the floor, and covered with a white woollen blanket, on which were several spots of blood, which I perceived was red, notwithstanding the opacity of her skin. Her countenance, though very pale from the shock she had received, appeared complacent and sympathetic. Both arms were broken between the elbows and wrists, and had undoubtedly been well set and dressed, but from her restlessness, she had displaced the bones so that they were perceptibly crooked. I have since been informed by the mayor of the city, who is a physician, and resides not far distant from the place, that he was called to visit her immediately after her fall; and found besides her arms being broken, that the lower part of her spine was badly shattered, so that it was very doubtful whether she would ever be capable of walking again, if she should survive. The lady of the mayor said she was awakened from sleep by the fall of the woman, and heard her heavy struggling groans. I inquired of her, whether she was asleep when she sprang from the window! She replied, "No, no more than I am now." I asked her, what was the cause of her doing such a frantic act. She answered, "They brought me away with two of my children, and would not let me see my husband—They didn't sell my husband, and I didn't want to go.—I was so confused and distracted, that I didn't

know hardly what I was about—but I didn't want to go, and I jumped out of the window;—but I am sorry now I did it—They have carried my children off with them to Carolina."

I was informed that the slave trader, who had purchased her near Bladensburg, gave her to the landlord as a compensation for taking care of her. Thus her family was dispersed from north to south, and herself nearly torn in pieces, without a shadow of hope of ever seeing or hearing from her children again. "He that can behold this poor woman, (as a respectable citizen of Washington afterwards remarked,) and listen to her unwarnished story without a humid eye, possesses a stouter heart than I do."³

"I have been informed by several persons in the District of Columbia, that a woman who had been sold in Georgetown, cut her own throat ineffectually, while on her way in a hack to the same depository; and that on the road to Alexandria, she completed her purpose by cutting it again mortally."

"A statement was published in the *Baltimore Telegraph* a few months ago, that a female slave who had been sold in Maryland, with her child, on the way from Bladensburg to Washington, heroically cut the throats of both her child and herself, with mortal effect. This narrative has been since confirmed by a relative of the person who sold them."

Mr. Henry B. Stanton, in a recent letter to the editor of the *New-York Emancipator*, dated April 23, 1834, states the following case, as among the disclosures made in the late remarkable discussion at Lane Seminary in Ohio.

"I will now relate briefly a few facts of a different character, showing the unspeakable cruelty of this traffic in its operations upon slaves left behind. The following was related during our debate by Andrew Benton, a member of the theological department, who was an agent of the S. S. Union for two or three years in Missouri. A master in St. Louis sold a slave at auction, to a driver who was collecting men for the southern market. The negro was very intelligent, and, on account of his ingenuity in working iron, was sold for an uncommonly high price—about 7 or 800 dollars. He had a wife whom he tenderly loved—and from whom he was determined not to part. During the progress of the sale, he saw that a certain man was determined to purchase him. He went up to him and said, "If you buy me, you must buy my wife too, for I can't go without her. If you will only buy my wife, I will go with you willingly, but if you don't, I shall never be of any use to you." He continued to repeat the same expression for some time. The man turned upon him, and with a sneer and a blow, said, "Begone, villain! don't you know you are a slave?" The negro felt it keenly. He retired. The sale went on. He was finally struck off to this man. The slave again accosted his new master, and besought him with great earnestness and feeling to buy his wife, saying, that if he would only do that, he would work for him hard and faithfully,—would be a good slave—and added with much em-

¹ After this part of the report was read to the Convention, the Rev. Amos A. Phelps, agent of the American Anti-Slavery Society, remarked that he had just had the privilege of seeing this woman who still survives; that one of her arms and hands was perceptibly crooked, as Dr. Torrey described it at the time; that she had become the mother of three children by her husband, who was not sold; that the trader, who gave her away as above, allured by the children, had recently laid claim to them and their mother!

² Portraiture of Domestic Slavery in the United States—Philadelphia, published by the Author 1817.

phasis, 'If you don't, I never shall be worth any thing to you.' He was now repelled more harshly than before. The negro retired a little distance from his master, took out his knife, *cut his throat from ear to ear*, and fell, weltering in his blood!—Can slaves feel?

A member of this Convention,* to whom we were indebted on yesterday for so much interesting information, touching the disreputable exclusion of colored persons from republican seminaries of learning, has related to your Committee the following case. It occurred in Maryland, his native state, while he was yet a resident there.

A woman, a cook belonging to a gentleman on the Eastern Shore, was sold by him to Georgia. The first time he entered his kitchen after the tidings were received by her, she stabbed him with a carving knife, quite through the breast, and he fell dead instantaneously. Then, with the same instrument, she slashed her arm in the bend of the elbow, severing the flesh, cords and arteries, and fell and expired on her master's corpse.

One of your Committee† was informed by a Methodist clergyman in Georgetown, in the District of Columbia, of the case of a husband, who, upon his wife being sold and carried to the South, pined away, and in a few weeks died of a broken heart.

The case of another husband in Washington, in the same District of Columbia, was narrated to the same gentleman, by a member of a church in that city. Upon the sale and departure of his wife, he became, from being an industrious and sober man, a drunkard, and in a short time crazy, and so remains.

Your Committee recur with a painful satisfaction to the testimony of Mr. Stanton's letter. He says:—

'The slaves at the north have a kind of instinctive dread of being sold into southern slavery. They know the toil is extreme, the climate sickly, and the hope of redemption desperate. But what is more dreadful, they fear that if they are sold, they will have to leave a wife, a sister, or children whom they love. I hope no one will smile unbelievably when I say, *that slaves can love*. There is no class of the community whose social affections are stronger. The above facts illustrate this truth. Mr. Benton, of whom I spoke above, tells me, that while prosecuting his agency in Missouri, he was applied to in more than a hundred instances by slaves, who were about to be sold to southern drivers, beseeching him in the most earnest manner to buy them, so that they might not be driven away from their wives, their children, their brothers and their sisters. Knowing that his feelings were abhorrent to slavery, they addressed him without reserve, and with an entreaty

bordering on frenzy. Mr. B. related the following. He was an eye-witness. A large number of slaves were sitting near a steam-boat in St. Louis, which was to carry them down to New-Orleans. Several of their relatives and acquaintances came down to the river to take leave of them. Their demonstrations of sorrow were simple but natural. They wept and embraced each other again and again. Two or three times, they left their companions—would proceed a little distance from the boat, and then return to them, when the same scene would be repeated. This was kept up for more than an hour. Finally, when the boat left, they returned home, weeping and wringing their hands, and making every exhibition of the most poignant grief. Take the following facts as illustrative of the deep feeling of slave mothers for their children. It is furnished me by a fellow student who has resided much in slave states. I give it in his own words. "Some years since when travelling from Halifax in North Carolina, to Warrenton in the same state, we passed a large drove of slaves on their way to Georgia. Before leaving Halifax, I heard that the drivers had purchased a number of slaves in that vicinity, and started with them that morning, and that we should probably overtake them in an hour or two. Before coming up with the gang, we saw at a distance a colored female, whose appearance and actions attracted my notice. I said to the stage-driver, (who was a colored man,) 'What is the matter with that woman, is she crazy?' 'No massa,' said he, 'I know her, it is ——. Her master sold her two children this morning to the soul-drivers, and she has been following along after them, and I suppose they have driven her back. Don't you think it would make you act like you was crazy, if they should take your children away, and you never see 'em any more?' By this time we had come up with the woman. She seemed quite young. As soon as she recognized the driver, she cried out, 'They 've gone! they 've gone! The soul-drivers have got them. Master would sell them. I told him I could'n't live without my children. I tried to make him sell me too;—but he beat me and drove me off, and I got away and followed after them, and the drivers whipped me back:—and I never shall see my children again. Oh! what shall I do!' The poor creature shrieked and tossed her arms about with maniac wildness—and beat her bosom, and literally *cast dust into the air*, as she moved towards the village. At the last glimpse I had of her, she was nearly a quarter of a mile from us, still throwing handfuls of sand around her, with the same phrenzied air." Here we have an exhibition of a mother's feelings on parting with her children.'

On the subject of the dreadful apprehensions under which slaves, and even free negroes in free states labor, in consequence of this odious trade, Dr. Torrey relates a remarkable instance. An African youth, in the city of Philadelphia, cut his throat, almost mortally, merely from the apprehension, as he said, of being sold. This information was obtained from several respectable citizens of Philadelphia, who had personal knowledge of the fact.

Mr. Garrison relates, on the authority of a clergyman of Kentucky, the case of two little boys, which is not surpassed by the most affecting incident recorded in the annals of the African trade. The boys were tenderly attached to each other, and constant compan-

* Rev. William Monro of Portland.

† Rev. John Frost of Whitesboro', N. Y.

ions from their infancy. Their owner sold one of them, but not without some anticipation of the consequences upon the other, and therefore used deception to prevent and quiet his sorrow. When the traded lad was removed, the other was told that it was but for a little while, and that he would soon see him again. He soon became uneasy at the unwonted absence of his playmate. He was again assured that he would come back. This pacified him only to increase his alarm, when he found himself again balked. Again he was soothed by falsehood in some new form, and with more solemn protestations, and this cruel mockery of the most beautiful and sacred affections, was repeated with less and less effect, until the lad lost all confidence in his perfidious comforters, and gave himself up to despair. He drooped a few weeks, pined away and expired. His heart was crushed.

Your Committee have entered into these authentic details, notwithstanding their painful nature, with the hope of convincing some of those persons, who are in the habit of replying to all instances when presented singly, that they are of doubtful authority, or that they are too rare to be reasoned upon. The feelings of that person are not to be envied, nor his principles admired, who cannot be affected even by a solitary instance of excessive and deliberate barbarity, especially when he *knows* that the same tyrant who has committed one, may commit an hundred with equal profit and impunity; and that half a million of owners are all the time at liberty, and very likely to do the same.

One of the evils of the domestic slave trade, most grievous in its nature, though not the most extensive in its effects, is the great temptation and facility which it affords for kidnapping freemen, both in the slave and free states. Some examples will prove and illustrate this proposition.

A member of this convention,* who formerly resided in the District of Columbia, has communicated to your Committee a case, which was within his own knowledge, he having interfered to prevent the unrighteous result. A drunkard and spendthrift, named *Luskey*, having dissipated his money, took this method to replenish his pockets. He procured a newspaper, (no difficult task,) con-

taining an advertisement of a runaway slave, and presented himself before a judge of the United States Court in the District, and made oath that a certain *free* colored man, residing there, was the slave intended by the advertisement. The accused was brought before the judge, and upon the testimony of this miscreant, and an accomplice, he was adjudged a slave, and was carried south, in spite of the zealous exertions of our friend. It is the opinion of the same gentleman that by a conspiracy of one or two needy and profligate men with a domestic slave trader, any free colored man in *any* state may be, and a very considerable number annually is kidnapped *according to law!* The liberty of colored free men has not been sufficiently guarded by the laws of the United States, nor of any of the separate states; for in none of the free states, on the question of *liberty or slavery*, is the alleged slave allowed a trial by jury, any more than he is on the question of life or death in the slave states! New-York has lately provided for such trial where a man is claimed as a slave, but it seems to be considered very doubtful if the judicial tribunals of that state will sustain the enactment. If they should not, it will be high time, that Congress should revise the act for restoring men to slavery, who have escaped from it, so that it may not be used as an instrument for enslaving those who are by birth or manumission free. Suppose such a statute as the one abovementioned had been applied to the pilgrims, who fled from ecclesiastical tyranny, or to their descendants; for no length of time, no number of generations, can by the slave code render the posterity of slaves free! Or, suppose the British Parliament should pass an act to reduce these states to colonial dependence once more. We should fight, immediately, and justly. And what does this show? It shows that the reclaiming of fugitive and self-emancipated slaves, is an affair of *mere power*, and *not of right*: and is submitted to on the same principle that we surrender our purse to a highwayman, who points a pistol at our breast.

The following is from the testimony of the Rev. George Bourne, in a recent publication* abounding with useful and afflicting details.

* Mr. Abner Forbes, teacher of the Boston Grammar and writing school for colored youth.

* Bourne's Picture of Slavery in the United States, Middletown, Con. E. Hunt. 1834.

‘ Nothing is more common than for two of these white partners in iniquity, Satan-like, to start upon the prowl, and if they find a freeman on the road, to demand his certificate, tear it in pieces or scerete it, tie him to one of their horses, hurry to some jail, while one whips the citizen along as fast as their horses can travel. There, by an understanding with the jailer, who shares in the spoil, all possibility of intercourse with his friends is cut off. At the earliest possible period, the captive is sold to pay the felonious claims of the law, bought through jugglery by this trio of man-stealers; and then transferred to some of their accomplices in iniquity, who fill every part of the Southern States with fraud, rapine and blood.’

Mr. Bourne mentions several cases, where the most subtle frauds, and the most revolting cruelties, are by turns displayed. The Committee recommend the whole book to the attention of anti-slavery friends. The author probes with a firm hand, this fever-sore of the body politic.

Mr. Munro and Mr. Forbes, whose testimony has before been referred to, concur in declaring that the practice of whites to search any colored persons, bond or free, male or female, whom they meet in the slave states, is universal; and indeed any one who reflects upon the laws of those states, must be aware that this right of search would necessarily result from those laws. This is very important in its bearing on the kidnaping branch of the Domestic Trade. For generally speaking, a free colored man deprived of his free papers, can entertain very little hope of vindicating his freedom. Your Committee are fully satisfied that where the liberty of a slave is in question, it is extremely difficult to obtain the testimony of whites to facts in his favor, however clear or notorious they may be. Mr. Forbes says, that he has known white witnesses, whose love of truth, justice and humanity, impelled them to come forward, and enabled them to defy persecution, to give their evidence amidst the hisses of the whole court-house. When it is considered that the sheriffs and constables or other persons serving subpoenas for witnesses, must all be white—that they must be paid—that the negro has very little to pay with, and can never, on the score of expense, compete with his master—that even if he should be able to bring his witnesses into court, he can seldom from these causes have legal counsel—and that at last he is to be judged by slaveholders—it must be seen and acknowledged, that any free colored man, without his certificate in his pocket, is a slave—not of one man, but of every man

he meets! Such are some of the consequences of substituting a bit of parchment for that great law of God, that all men are free—that universal law, which the Roman code in its worst state fully acknowledged, and applied to the condition of slavery in that empire; so that there, in the worst of times, every man was *presumed to be free, until the contrary were proved*. Here he is presumed to be a slave, unless he proves himself free!

Your Committee would now recur to the work of Dr. Torrey. The evidence which that gentleman has recorded is the more valuable, as it has been before the whole country for sixteen years, and no contradiction, or even qualification of his statements has been attempted. This is the best proof that they will admit of none—He says:

‘ The others whom I found in the same garret, (meaning where the woman with broken back and limbs was lying,) and at the same time, were a young black widow woman, and an infant at the breast, both of whom were born free. Her husband had died a few days previous to her seizure, and she was in a state of pregnancy at the time. She stated that the man in whose house she resided, together with his brother, and three other persons, (two of whom, she said, then stood indicted for having seized and carried her off at a former time.) came into the room (a kitchen) where she was in bed, seized and dragged her out, fastened a noose round her neck to prevent her from screaming, and attempted to blindfold her, which she resisted with such violence that she prevented them from succeeding. She said, while one of them was endeavoring to fix the bandage over her eyes, that she seized his cheek with her teeth, and tore a piece of it entirely off. She said one of them struck her head several times with a stick of wood, from the wounds of which she was almost entirely covered with blood. She showed me a large scar upon her forehead, occasioned by one of the blows which a gentleman, who saw her the day previous to the seizure, has since informed me was not there before. She said, while she was struggling against them, and screaming, the man in whose house she lived bawled out, ‘ Choak the ——; don’t let her halloo; she’ll scare my wife!’ Having conquered her by superior force, she said they placed her with the child in the chaise, and refusing to dress herself, three of them, leaving the two who belonged to the house, carried her off in the condition that she was dragged from the bed, to a certain tavern in Maryland, and sold them both to the man-dealer, who brought them to the city of Washington. She stated that one of her captors drove the carriage and held the rope which was fixed to her neck, and that one rode each side, on horse-back; that while one of them was negotiating a bargain with her purchaser, he asked her who her master was, and replying that she had none, her seller beckoned to him to go into another room, where the business was adjusted without troubling her with any further inquiries. She stated that her purchaser confessed, while on the way to Annapolis, that he believed she might have had some claim to freedom, and intimated that he would have taken her back, if the man of whom he bought her had not run away; but requested her, notwithstanding, to say nothing to any body about her being free, which she refused

to comply with. She affirmed that he offered her for sale to several persons, who refused to purchase her, on account of her asserting that she was free. She stated that her purchaser had left her in Washington for a few weeks, and gone to the Eastern Shore, in search of more black people, in order to make up a drove for Georgia.*

The same writer states, that a free mulatto who had been sold near Philadelphia, by his employer, and brought to Washington, was most unmercifully beaten on the road with a club for telling that he was free!

A mulatto youth had been purchased in the city of Washington, and kept in it in irons several weeks by a person who confessed his regret, that he had not removed him before the suit, for the recovery of his freedom, had commenced; and that, if he had known it sooner, he would have taken him on to — (the place of his residence,) even if he had been satisfied of his being free. One Slave-Trader, to whom he had been offered, was however so conscientious, that he refused to purchase him or the lad, who was with him (before mentioned) being confident that they were illegally enslaved.

I have been assured by a gentleman of the highest respectability, that a former representative to Congress, from one of the southern states, acknowledged to him that he held a mulatto man as a slave, having purchased him in company with slaves, who affirmed that he was free born, and had been kidnapped from one of the New-England states, who was well educated, and who, he had no doubt, was born as free a man as himself or my informant. Upon being asked, how he could bear then to retain him, he replied that the customs of his part of the country were such that these things are not minded much.

Mr. Cooper, one of the representatives to congress from Delaware, assured me that he had often been afraid to send one of his servants out of his house in the evening, from the danger of their being seized by kidnappers.

It appears by the following passage, that Dr. Torrey was powerfully struck by that resemblance, or rather identity of the American Slave Trade and the African Slave Trade, which your Committee have asserted. He says—

Thomas Clarkson states, in his History of the Abolition of the Slave Trade, that the arrival of slave ships, on the coasts of Africa, was the uniform signal for the immediate commencement of wars for the attainment of prisoners, for sale and exportation to America and the West Indies. In Maryland and Delaware, the same drama is now performed in miniature. The arrival of the Man-Trallickers, laden with cash, at their respective stations, near the coasts of a great American water, called justly, by Mr. Randolph, 'a Mediterranean sea,' or at their several inland posts, near the dividing line of Maryland and Delaware, (at some of which they have grated prisons for the purpose) is the well known signal for the professed kidnappers, like beasts of prey, to commence their nightly invasions upon the *fleecy flocks*; extending their ravages, (generally attended with bloodshed, and sometimes murder,) and spreading terror and consternation amongst both freemen and slaves throughout the *sandy regions*, from the western to the eastern shores. These 'two-legged featherless animals,' or human blood-hounds, when overtaken, which is rare, by the messengers of the law, are generally found armed with instruments of death, sometimes with pistols with latent spring daggers attached to them.

On the subject of the difficulty of kidnapped persons holding any communication, by which assistance could be procured, Mr. Munro states the following facts, as having come under his own observation.

In the droves, which are marched inland from Maryland south, and from the prisons, depots and public houses to the vessels, none is allowed to address a bystander of any color or condition. Now and then, a negro raises his head and calls out, 'Good bye,' to his friends and acquaintance. This is all. It is exceedingly rare that one hears more. I was once present, when a woman cried that she was free, and had been kidnapped. A gentleman of respectable character attempted to inquire into the particulars of her case, but *Woolfolk*, the ferocious merchant of souls rode up to him on the side walk, and drew pistols upon him. Of this action, no notice was taken by the police or public authorities of any kind. *Woolfolk's* servants follow him, armed with pistols and daggers.

It may be observed in general, that the kidnapping of freemen is common all over this country, and prevails to an extent of which few are aware.

Mr. Jude Hall, a colored man of New Hampshire, a valiant soldier during the whole of our revolutionary war, and at the time of his death a pensioner of the United States, lost three sons by kidnapping from New England vessels. One of them, after ten years bondage, escaped to England, and wrote from there a few years ago, an account of his being sold by his captain, of his continuance in slavery during the above period, of his escape thence, and of his success and prosperity after arriving in England, where he had become the captain of a coasting vessel, and was happily married. This news was received after the death of the father. The other two, if living, are still in slavery, —and it is not known where.*

A colored seaman of Boston, was lately kidnapped at New Orleans, and committed to the *calaboose*, preparatory to being sold and sent into the interior. He supposes that his captain, a Scotchman named *Bukley*, was privy to the outrage. There he remained in the most filthy and infested of prisons, and believes that he should have been in slavery

* Affidavit of Robert Roberts of Boston.

at this time, if he had not been able to speak French. Availing himself of this advantage, he conveyed a message through a creole French soldier who was on guard, to two friends in the city, who obtained his release.

This sailor saw in the prison nine colored men, whom he knew to be free, having known several of them as stewards on board of northern vessels. Two of them belonged to Boston, one to Portland, and three to New-York. After twenty days, they were to be sold. The witness adds the following remarkable declaration, which it is to be hoped may operate, if not as a help to reform this horrid abuse, at least as a caution to all colored seamen, both against their own officers, and the caitiffs who infest the shores of the Mississippi.

'There is a continual stream of free colored persons from Boston, New-York, Philadelphia, and other seaports of the United States, passing through the CALABOOSE into slavery in the country.'

A member of this Convention * states, among five cases of kidnapping within his own knowledge, that of his brother. We quote his own words.

'About eighteen years ago, Robert H. Barbadoes was kidnapped in New-Orleans, imprisoned, handcuffed and chained, for about five months or longer, and deprived every way of communicating his situation to his parents. His protection was taken from him, and torn up. He was often severely flogged to be made submissive, and deny that he was free born. He was unluckily caught with a letter wrote with a stick, and with the blood drawn from his own veins, for the purpose of communicating to his father his situation; but this project failed, for the letter was torn away from him and destroyed, and he very severely flogged. He then lost most every hope; but at length the above Peter Smith was kidnapped again in this garden of paradise of freedom, and being lodged in the same cell with him, he communicated to Smith the particulars of his sufferings. At the examination of Smith, he was found to have free papers, signed by the Governor; in consequence of which, he was set at liberty. He then wrote to Barbadoes' parents, and likewise arrived in Boston as soon as the letter. Free papers were immediately obtained, and signed by his father and Mrs. Mary Turel, Mr. ——— Giles, and Mr. Thomas Clark, town clerk; and by the Governor of this state demanding him without delay, he was returned to his native town, Boston, where all these other persons belonged.'

The following is from Mr. Stanton's letter.

'A member of this institution, recently visiting among the colored people of Cincinnati, entered a house where was a mother and her little son. The wretched appearance of the house and the extreme poverty of its inmates induced the visitor to suppose that the husband of the woman must be a drunkard. He inquired of the boy, who was two or three years old, where his father was? He replied, 'Papa stole.'

* James G. Barbadoes of Boston.

† One of the four persons previously mentioned by Mr. Barbadoes.

The visitor seemed not to understand, and turning to the mother, said, 'What does he mean?' She then related the following circumstances. About two years ago, one evening, her husband was sitting in the house, when two men came in, and professing great friendship, persuaded him under some pretence to go on board a steamboat, then lying at the dock, and bound down the river. After some hesitation he consented to go. She heard nothing from him for more than a year, but supposed he had been kidnapped. Last spring, Dr. ———, a physician of Cincinnati, being at Natchez, Miss. saw this negro in a drove of slaves, and recognized him. He ascertained, from conversation with him, that he had been driven about from place to place since he was decoyed from home by the slave-drivers,—had changed masters two or three times, and had once been lodged in jail for safe keeping, where he remained some time. When Dr. ——— returned to Cincinnati, he saw the wife of the negro, and engaged to take the necessary steps for his liberation. But soon afterwards this gentleman fell a victim to the cholera, which was then prevailing in Cincinnati. No efforts have since been made to recover this negro. No tidings have been heard from him since the return of Dr. ———. He is probably now laboring on some sugar or cotton plantation in Louisiana, without the hope of escaping from slavery, although he is a free born citizen of Philadelphia.'

Mr. Stroud, author of the Sketch of Southern Slave Laws, states that more than thirty free persons of color were carried off from Philadelphia in two years. Five with great difficulty and expense had been released. The rest were still in bondage.

Torrey says, that in many cases whole families have been attacked by night, knocked down, gagged, and dragged away, leaving no traces behind, except trails of their blood. He further says, on the authority of an 'ingenious slave-trader,' which reminds us of the title of a comedy, ('Honest Thieves,') that 'several thousand free citizens of these United States, are held in hopeless captivity in this land of freedom.'

The star-spangled banner in triumph shall wave
O'er the land of the free, and the home of the—slave.

The laws of the slave states concur with private depravity, to keep up this abominable trade. Their prisons, as well as that, which we all pay to support in the District of Columbia, stand ever ready to fly open for the accommodation of soul-sellers and stealers, and to close upon their captives. The statutes of the old, slave-breeding and slave-trading southern states provide every means for rendering man-merchandizing easy and lucrative. Thus they authorize the county courts to issue under seal, certificates of the good character of any slave about to be sold to Georgia, Louisiana, &c. which greatly enhances his merchantable value, and is analogous to an invoice or bill of health in a law-

ful commerce. The inhuman, and worse than heathen principles, universal in the slave states, that any colored man shall be taken and deemed to be a slave, and shall be incompetent as a witness, whether slave or not, augment prodigiously the facility of enslaving free men. Thus any colored man may be imprisoned by any white, and if no white witness appear, he must be sold to pay the advertising, jail fees, and for apprehending him. The laws in some states are so conscientious as to direct that in such cases he shall be sold only for a term of years to pay the above expenses; but all accounts of the *practice* agree that this restriction is generally nugatory. Once sold, they are taken to Georgia and other states more south, and disposed of as entire slaves, to those who know not the contrary, or disregard it if they do; and after this they must inevitably remain slaves for the residue of their lives. The awful motto was not more applicable to Dante's hell,—

'O ye, who enter here, abandon hope!'

than to the entrance of Georgia or the Mississippi by these unhappy men.

It is true that 'free papers,' as they are called, are some protection so long as they are retained, but what are they worth when every white ruffian has the RIGHT OF SEARCH, and in nine cases out of ten, (we use the language of Mr. Monro), finds those papers, however carefully concealed, and tears them in pieces?

Another law, which if not universal is very general in slave states, is that a slave, or any person for him, who shall sue for the freedom of the slave, in case the action shall fail, shall pay to the master DOUBLE COSTS, and no slave can prosecute such action without first giving security for costs.

With such multiplied impediments in their way, let the Convention judge how many free men held in bondage, will be likely to vindicate their freedom. The negroes must have a white man in some states to prosecute for them; in all, they must have white sureties and witnesses, either of which it renders a white man unpopular with his *caste* to be. Then he has counsel to fee, and clerk's and jury fees to advance. All these things require money of men, whose very condition it is to have no right to acquire property, and to be incapable of possessing

a farthing? Supposing him by some miracle to have surmounted these, still judge and jury are slaveholders.

Your Committee forbear at this time to multiply examples, not because they are few, but because they are so many.

It may be reckoned as among the great evils of the Domestic Slave-trade, that to an owner, who abuses his power in such a manner as not to destroy life, but yet to render the victims disagreeable to his sight, disquieting to his conscience, or dangerous to his reputation; or their resentment, or the sympathy of their companions formidable to him—it affords the means of getting rid of them as effectually as if they were buried. 'Dead men tell no tales,' is likewise true of traded men.

From a manuscript for which your Committee are indebted to a member of this Convention,* we extract the following case.

A gentleman of Baltimore was the father of a mulatto girl, by his slave. He determined to fulfil his natural duty towards her, and gave her an excellent education, and she grew up a very accomplished young lady. When she was arrived almost at womanhood, her father died. By a codicil to his will he emancipated her, and bequeathed her a handsome property. Her white brother, who was the executor, destroyed the codicil of the will and the modesty of the maiden, and when she was about to become a mother, sold her for an enhanced price to Louisiana.

Many cases have been stated of slaves, whose masters had voluntarily contracted with them to give them emancipation, when they should have earned a certain sum, (the full value of their persons.) over and above their usual tasks; and after they had earned and paid it over, have sold and removed them to a safe distance. This cruel deceit seems to be resorted to for gain or revenge.

The affecting case of a barber, who attempted to cut his throat on being informed that he was sold, when he had just paid over to his master the last of the purchase-money for his own body, has been generally published within a few months in the newspapers. It may be considered as some proof of

* Rev. George Bourne.

the power of that story that it should have found its way into those vehicles of information, which systematically suppress the truth, touching the condition and fate of our enslaved countrymen!!

The following is from a recent publication.*

'A master had repeatedly promised to manumit a slave who was an excellent blacksmith, but he had as often violated his promise. The slave had worked earlier, later and harder, upon the expectation of becoming so much the sooner a *man*. At length, however, his heart grew sick. Disappointment, sharper than a serpent's tooth, relaxed the sinews of his arm, and poisoned his coarse and scanty fare. The master, to revive his spirits and restore his vigor, finally promised with unwonted solemnity, that if he would earn by extra labor a certain sum of money, amounting to several hundred dollars, he should be free. The slave fell to work once more with redoubled energy. He toiled long and hard, and at last the blessed day dawned, on which, according to the stipulation, he was to be enfranchised. But his treacherous and brutal master had sold him to a slave trader, to be carried to New-Orleans! and on that day he was destined to receive—not his promised freedom, but a new suit of chains. The heart-stricken man told his tale to the trader; how he had been promised, how he had toiled, how cherished and deferred hopes would be blasted forever. He entreated him in the most touching language, to renounce the sacrilegious bargain. But 'there is no flesh in the heart' of a slave trader. Seeing that his prayers and tears were vain, the slave became desperate. He told the dealer that if he did take him, one or the other of them must die; and that he then gave him fair warning. The trader was highly diverted, and said 'he liked such a spirited fellow.' They went on board a vessel, and, during a serene evening in that delicious climate, the trader reposed himself upon the deck. In the dead of the night, the slave contrived to rid himself of his hand-cuffs, and groped until he grasped an axe, and, thus armed, stood over the sleeping man. He waked him and told his purpose. 'Then God have mercy on me,' said the slave trader. 'God will not have mercy on you, neither will I,' said the slave, and beat out his brains.'

There cannot be a reasonable doubt that the *American* 'Middle Passage' abounds in horrors very similar to those of the African. The victims collected for the Southern market, are consigned to prisons attached to private establishments, or to county jails, or to the jail in the District of Columbia. There they suffer from hunger, heat and cold, in chains and in cells, which all witnesses describe as filthy and loathsome in the extreme and even in this situation the traders still find or make occasions for using the 'bloody lash.'

If from these receptacles they are transported by sea, they are crowded between

decks and into the hold in just such numbers as the captain pleases, and their fare is such as pleases him or the owner of them. Of course, it is not likely to be *expensive*. The ship-room to be reserved for each slave coming from Africa was prescribed by the British Parliament long before they abolished the trade. Our Congress has found it necessary to prescribe the ship-room which captains shall reserve *for passengers* on foreign voyages to and from the United States. If these enactments were necessary, is it not probable that the unlimited liberty of crowding unreasonably and uncomfortably our coasting *slavers*, is abused in nearly every voyage? Will not the captains make money by abusing it? Will not traders save by it? The ordinary cargo appears to be from one hundred and fifty to two hundred slaves. It seems to your Committee that there *must* be suffering, excessive suffering from straightness of room; and we have a painful suspicion that it is much greater from this cause, and also from badness and scantiness of provision and harsh treatment on board, than is either known to us, or generally suspected. No one has yet told the secrets of an *American coasting slaver*.

The following from the letter of Mr. Stanton, may serve to give an inkling of what may be.

'A trader was recently taking down nine slaves in a flat boat. When near Natchez, his boat sprung a leak. He was compelled to abandon her. He put his slaves into a small canoe. Being manacled and fettered, they were unable to manage the canoe. It upset—they were plunged into the river—and sunk, being carried down by the weight of their chains. The water was deep and the current rapid. They were seen no more. My informant conversed with a man who accompanied a cargo of slaves from some port in Virginia, round, by sea, to N. Orleans. He said the owners and sailors treated them most unmercifully—beating them, and in some instances literally knocking them down upon the deck. They were locked up in the hold every night. Once on the passage, in consequence of alarm, they kept them in the hold the whole period of four days and nights, and none were brought on deck during that time but a few females—and they, for purposes which I will not name. Mr. Editor, do the horrors of the middle passage belong exclusively to a by-gone age?'

'There is one feature of this nefarious traffic which no motives of delicacy can induce me to omit mentioning. Shall we conceal the truth, because its revelation will shock the finer sensibilities of the soul, when by such concealment we shut out all hope of remedying an evil, which dooms to a dishonored life, and to a hopeless death, thousands of the females of our country? Is this wise? Is it prudent? Is it *right*? I allude to the fact, that large numbers of female mulattoes are annually bought up, and carried down to our southern cities, and sold at enor-

* Speech of David L. Child, Esq. at the first anniversary of the N. E. A. S. S. published by the Boston Young Men's Anti-Slavery Society for the Diffusion of Truth, 1834?

rous prices, for purposes of private prostitution. This is a fact of universal notoriety in the south-western states. It is known to every soul-driver in the nation. And is it so *bad* that *Christians* may not know it, and knowing it, apply the remedy? In the consummation of this nameless abomination, threats and the lash come in, where kind promises and money fail. And will not the mothers of America feel in view of these facts?

“Those who are transported down the Mississippi river, receive treatment necessarily different, but in the aggregate no less cruel. They are stowed away on the decks of steamboats (our boats are constructed differently from yours,) males and females, old and young, usually chained, subject to the jeers and taunts of the passengers and navigators, and often, by bribes, or threats, or the lash, made subject to abominations not to be named. On the same deck, you may see horses and human beings, tenants of the same apartments, and going to supply the same market. The *dumb* beasts, being less manageable, are allowed the first place, while the *human* are forced into spare corners and vacant places. My informant saw one trader, who was taking down to New-Orleans one hundred horses, several sheep, and between fifty and sixty slaves. The sheep and the slaves occupied the same deck. Many interesting and intelligent females were of the number. And if I were satisfied that the columns of a newspaper was the proper place to publish it, I could tell facts concerning the brutal treatment exercised towards these defenceless females while on the downward passage, which ought to kindle up the hot indignation of every mother, and daughter, and sister in the land.”

Let it be remembered that this testimony comes from the very scene of these atrocities, and from the mouths of the sons of slaveholders.

There is much testimony which might be heaped up on the subject of the cruelties to the droves, which move to market by land. In the works of Torrey, Rankin,^a Bourne, Mrs. Child, the Liberator, and the New York Anti-Slavery Reporter, facts may be found sufficient to oppress the soul of any one, whom custom has not rendered insensible to human misery and the blackest crimes. On this subject Mr. Stanton says—

“The slaves are taken down in companies, varying in number from 20 to 500. Men of capital are engaged in the traffic. Go into the principal towns on the Mississippi river, and you will find these negro traders in the bar-rooms, boasting of their adroitness in driving human flesh, and describing the process by which they can ‘*tame down*’ the spirit of a ‘*refractory*’ negro. Remember, by ‘*refractory*’ they mean to designate that spirit which some high-souled negro manifests, when he fully recognizes the fact, that God’s image is stamped upon him. There are many such negroes in slavery. Their bodies may faint under the infliction of accumulated wrong, but their souls cannot be crushed. After visiting the bar-room, go into the outskirts of the town, and there you will find the slaves belonging to the drove, crowded into dilapidated huts,—some, revelling—others apparently stupid—but others weeping over ties broken and hopes destroyed, with an agony intense, and to a free man, inconceivable. Many re-

spectable planters in Louisiana have themselves gone into Maryland and Virginia, and purchased their slaves. They think it more profitable to do so. Brother Robinson conversed with one or two of them when on their return. This shows that highly respectable men engage in this trade. But those who make it their regular employment, and thus receive the awfully significant title of ‘*soul drivers*,’ are usually brutal, ignorant, debauched men. And it is *such* men, who exercise despotic control over thousands of down-trodden, and defenceless men and women.”

“The slaves which pass down to the southern market on the Mississippi river and through the interior, are mostly purchased in Kentucky and Virginia. Some are bought in Tennessee. In the emigration they suffer great hardships. Those who are driven down by land, travel from two hundred to a thousand miles on foot, through Kentucky, Tennessee, and Mississippi. They sometimes carry heavy chains the whole distance. These chains are very massive. They extend from the hands to the feet, being fastened to the wrists and ancles by an iron ring round each. When chained, every slave carries two chains—i. e. one from each hand to each foot. A wagon, in which rides ‘the driver,’ carrying coarse provisions, and a few tent coverings, generally accompanies the drove. Men, women and children, some of the latter very young, walk near the wagon; and if, through fatigue or sickness they falter, the application of the whip reminds them that they are slaves.—Our informant, speaking of some droves which he met, says, ‘their weariness was extreme, and their dejected, despairing and woe-begone countenances I shall never forget.’ They encamp out nights. Their bed consists of a small blanket. Even this is frequently denied them. A rude tent covers them, scarcely sufficient to keep off the dew or frost, much less the rain. They frequently remain in this situation several weeks, in the neighborhood of some slave-trading village. The slaves are subject, while on their journeys, to severe sickness. On such occasions the drivers manifest much anxiety lest they should lose—*their property!* But even sickness does not prevent them from hurrying their victims on to market. Sick, faint, or weary, the slave knows no rest. In the Choctaw nation, my informant met a large company of these miserable beings, following a wagon at some distance. From their appearance, being mostly females and children, and hence not so marketable, he supposed they must belong to some planter who was emigrating southward. He inquired if this was so, and if their master was taking them home. A woman, in tones of mellowed despair answered him:—“Oh, no, sir, we are not going home! We don’t know where we are going. *The speculators have got us!*”

The cruelties exercised in these passages are not always unavenged by the miserable slaves. It is in the recollection of most men, that a company of sixty slaves, while marching through the West some years ago, killed one of their drivers, and severely wounded their purchaser. Two slave traders were slain by the slaves they were driving to market, near Prince Edward Court House, Va., about a month since.

The anguish, wailing and despair which are daily witnessed at the slave market, are themes familiar,—alas! too familiar to us all; and your Committee will not now dwell upon them. The brutal examination of

^a Letters on Slavery, by Rev. John Rankin. p. 10—4

women which takes place, is less spoken of than other particulars relating to that mighty instrument of torture, a slave auction.

On this topic your Committee refer to the testimony of Mr. Robinson, a member of the Lane Seminary, a citizen of Nashville, Tennessee, where he was graduated, and has resided.

'After slaves arrive in market, they are subjected to the most degrading examinations. The purchasers will roll up their sleeves and pantaloons, and examine their muscles and joints critically, to ascertain their probable strength, and will even open their mouths and examine their teeth, with the same remarks, and the same unconcern, that they would a horse.'

'The females are exposed to the same rude examinations as the men. When a large drove of slaves arrives in a town for sale, placards are put up at the corners of the streets, giving notice of the place and time of sale. Often they are driven through the streets for hours together (for the purpose of exhibiting them) exposed to the jeers and insults of the spectators. About a year since, Mr. Robinson saw about a hundred men, women and children, exposed for sale at one time in the market place at Nashville; and while three auctioneers were striking them off, purchasers examined their limbs and bodies with inhuman roughness and unconcern. This was accompanied with profanity, indelicate allusions, and boisterous laughter.'

'There are planters in the northern slave-states, who will not sell *slave families*, unless they can dispose of them all together. This they consider more humane,—as it in fact is. But such kindnesses are of no avail after the victims come into the southern markets. If it is not just as profitable for the traders to sell them in families, they hesitate not a moment to separate husband and wife—parents and children, and dispose of them to purchasers, residing in sections of the country, remote from each other. When they happen to dispose of whole families to the same man, they loudly boast of it, as an evidence of their humanity.'

What a condemnation of the general practice of the slave traders, and indeed of their whole traffic do these boasts imply!

Your Committee had long entertained a painful *suspicion*, that corrupt and degenerate persons from the United States were fraudulently introducing and holding slaves in the *Texas*, notwithstanding that slavery was abolished forever, throughout all Mexico, in the year 1829. This suspicion was founded upon the confident calculations of southern planters and politicians upon the *Texas*, as a future market of slaves, and upon their known eagerness to purchase or conquer it.* Nevertheless, we did indulge the hope, that even fugitives and intruders from the United States, who should set down in that fair country, would have too much respect for their native land and her apparent institutions, to attempt to convert a friendly

and free, into a slave state. Or, if this were not so, that the Government and people of Mexico would have too much respect for themselves to permit those base men to contemn their laws, or even to pollute the soil with their presence. But we now regret to say, that we have met with evidence on this subject, which reduces suspicion to reality. Capt. Alexander, whose work we have before cited, makes the following statement.

'The Mexicans complain with justice that instead of industrious and respectable settlers being introduced into Texas, in general the most worthless outcasts enter their territory. I heard of people there quarrelling and shooting one another with pistols in the open day with impunity;—of a dialogue between two friends, who unexpectedly met there. One asked what brought the other there. 'The murder of his brother-in-law.' The other 'had fled after being detected in kidnapping free negroes.' Again, the Mexicans complain that they are *insulted by the Americans, who, contrary to express stipulation, introduce slaves into the colony, under pretence of their being indented servants*; and indeed it seems quite evident that the Americans are endeavoring to obtain possession of the country (a very tempting prize)—as they did Florida, by encouraging squatters to enter it, who when they are sufficiently numerous will rise under pretence of being oppressed, and an American force will be marched in to succor them, which retaining possession of the country, a compulsory sale will ensue.' Vol. 2, pp. 43—4.

It is supposed by many persons now residing at the South, that if the planters could not *sell* and send off a few slaves *annually*, to make up the deficiency of income from their agriculture, they would be obliged to abandon immediately so bad a system of labor. The Domestic Trade, in this view, is chargeable with the whole guilt of the continuance of slavery in several of the States.

It is impossible to form any satisfactory idea of the number of slaves annually sold in the United States, by the regular traders. There is no other branch of commerce, concerning which our government has given us no statistical information. It would be unseemly for a republican government to publish these things, but not at all for a republican people to do them.

One of your Committee* has information, on which we can rely, that one house in the District of Columbia exported *one thousand*, in the year 1833, and will export more the present year. They employ two vessels constantly. There is another house in the same District. A third, located in Georgetown, has been given up; not, however, on account of the decline of the trade, for that is allowed to be increasing. Prices are

* See Debates of the Virginia Convention.

* Rev. Mr. Frost.

depressed at this moment, owing to the derangement of the currency, but the trade is unquestionably brisk and profitable.

The high price of cotton and the ravages of the cholera last year, and the return of the same *blessing*, (for such it has been said the poor slaves esteem it,)—and the new tracts of cheap and fertile land, wrested from the Indians, conspire, and will conspire, to increase the demand for slaves in the South and South-West, for some time to come.

Mr. Niles in his Register states that in the week, ending Sept. 16th, 1831, three hundred and seventy one slaves were reported in the New-Orleans papers, as landed from Baltimore, Alexandria, Norfolk and Charleston. Supposing this to be an average number, it would follow that the Domestic maritime Slave Trade supplies that city with no less than twenty thousand slaves every year, *three times the annual importation from abroad into the United States, when the foreign trade was most brisk.* We may add ten thousand for those landed in other states and territories, without touching at New-Orleans, and twenty thousand for the inland trade, making a total of *fifty thousand men*, trafficked yearly, in the U. S. like swine and turkeys from Kentucky. It is supposed by one gentleman in this Convention,* that the number will this year exceed *one hundred thousand.*

It is a fact worthy of observation, that just at the precise time that the foreign slave trade was *permitted*, by our Constitution to cease, the Domestic was ready to begin. The turn of the tide could not have been calculated with more accuracy! Perhaps we owe it to this circumstance, that the law of 1808 was passed at all! *Extensive* arrangements would seem, by all accounts, to have been made in the *northern* slave states, to prepare a supply for the market, and to profit by the *monopoly.* And now this *dreadful result* takes place, that *slaves are the only domestic article, the production of which, is encouraged by a prohibitory tariff.* †

In conclusion, your Committee recommend an earnest and early appeal to Congress on this subject, that a petition, setting forth the constitutional law, and the practical horrors and atrocities relating to this trade, be draft-

† Rev. Mr. Blain, of Pawtucket.

ed under the direction of the New-England Anti-Slavery Society, and printed with the minutes of this Convention, and sent to all parts of the country and to all Anti-Slavery Societies, for circulation and signatures; and they recommend the passage of the following resolution:

Resolved, As the opinion of this Convention, that the Domestic Slave Trade of the United States is equally atrocious in the sight of God with the foreign, that it equally involves the crimes of murder, kidnapping and robbery, and is equally worthy with the foreign to be denounced and treated by human laws and tribunals as piracy, and those who carry it on as enemies of the human race.

All which is respectfully submitted.

D. LEE CHILD,
JOHN FROST,
RAY POTTER,
JESSE PUTNAM,
JOSEPH SOUTHWICK.

TO THE CHRISTIAN PUBLIC.

The New-England Anti-Slavery Convention, believing in the permanent importance of the Christian religion, in respect to the glory of its divine author, and the present and eternal interests of man; and being fully assured of the entire incompatibility of the whole system of slavery existing in these states, with the spirit and precepts of that holy religion; deem it their high duty to announce their deliberate judgment on this most solemn and important subject.

It is not necessary, at present, to describe by minute detail what is to be understood by that slavery which is contrary to the law of love, which is the law of God. The nation has declared in the tenth article of the treaty of peace with Great Britain, that all traffic in slaves is irreconcilable with the principles of justice and humanity. Nor is it requisite to analyze the anomalies which may occasionally appear amid the operations of a general system, or to ascertain the individual exceptions which may sometimes occur in violation of a universal rule. By slavery we intend that system of injustice, oppression, and cruelty, which now exists in this republic, sanctioned and prolonged by custom and laws.

The Convention are fully satisfied, from the most indubitable testimony, to adopt the description, of one of the most eminent ecclesiastical bodies in the union, that 'slaves enjoy no instruction; are prohibited from all

relative endearments ; cannot preserve their personal purity and honor ; realize all kinds of cruelty ; are lawlessly separated from all their congenial and beloved companions ; are trafficked without remorse, only to suffer additional anguish ; and that christian professors sell as slaves, members of the church, into the most awful bondage !' In view of a scene, presenting so dreadful an outrage on all justice, love and mercy, where is the christian who does not mourn and weep ? Where is the christian who does not fear and tremble ? Where is the professor of that religion, which speaks good will to all men, who can doubt respecting the duty of contemplating and acting on this momentous topic ?

Taking a retrospective view of the moral darkness with which this direful system has enshrouded our beloved country ; contemplating it, as it has been in truth, a continual source of collision and animosity, no fact appears to be more certain than this ; that had the proper and legitimate moral and religious influence been urged in all its force against slavery at the termination of the revolutionary war, the baneful system would then have been eradicated. But the principles of carnal, temporising and selfish expediency swayed ; and as the bitter consequence, the truth that that which is morally wrong can never be politically right, we have found most lamentably verified.

The Convention are fearfully impressed with the melancholy fact, that the evils, both moral and social, which are inseparably conjoined with slavery, have been accumulating in an augmented ratio, during the last fifty years, and that no efficient remedy has hitherto been applied to these growing injuries, to the church and the world. On the contrary, it is manifest, that the only means which, under the divine auspices, might have been effectual to overthrow slavery in the United States, through the decided perversion of them, have constituted the principal support of that unholy despotism.

Christianity, that richest gift of the divine benevolence, is, in its legitimate sway, the only antidote to the corruption of our hearts, or to the propensities of man to transgress the commands of God, which relate to our duties to him and one another. But in reference to slavery, its holy authority has been contemned and prostrated ; its denunciations

of iniquity have been either concealed and silenced, or transformed into a direct sanction of that identical crime which they so authoritatively and solemnly condemn.

No iniquity is so pernicious, as that, the abhorrent qualities of which, are apparently neutralized by decorating it in a Christian garb, and honoring it with a Christian name. Is it not the very climax of anomalies, that a system so replete with outrageous violations of moral law and reciprocal equity, should be openly countenanced as consistent with the blessed Gospel of Jesus Christ ? What is that Gospel ? Is it not the reign of love, inspiring peace and good will among men ? And what is the system we deprecate ? What is slavery as it actually exists in these States, but a perpetual series of violations of this law of love ? What is it but a vile compound of transgressions of the precepts of the divine decalogue, in their most atrocious developments ? And now is it not high time for the professors of our holy religion, who are hastening to the tribunal of Him who will not be mocked, to pause and enquire whether or not the slaveholder, or his abettors, can make an honest, credible and consistent profession of the religion of righteousness and truth and love ? 'Lord, who shall abide in thy tabernacle ? Who shall dwell in thy holy hill ? He that walketh uprightly, and worketh righteousness, and speaketh the truth in his heart. He that doeth not evil to his neighbor, nor taketh up a reproach against his neighbor. In whose eyes a vile person is condemned. He that taketh not reward against the innocent. Who shall dwell on high ? He that despiseth the gain of oppressions, that shaketh his hands from holding of bribes, that stoppeth his ears from hearing of blood, and shutteth his eyes from seeing evil. Holiness becometh thine house, O Lord, forever.

Is the fruit of slavery, the fruit of the spirit ? Is it love, joy, peace, long suffering, gentleness, goodness, fidelity, meekness, temperance ? Is the language of God's children appropriate on the lips of a slaveholder ? Can he say, in reference to this subject, 'When the ear heard me, then it blessed me ; and when the eye saw me, it gave witness to me ; because I delivered the poor that cried, and the fatherless, and him that had none to help him. The blessing of him that was ready to perish came upon me ; and

I caused the widow's heart to sing for joy. I was a father to the poor; and the cause which I knew not I searched out.

The whole system of slavery is as opposite to the religion of love, as darkness is opposite to light. We feel solemnly impressed with the assurance, that it is high time that our holy religion should be disabused of the charge of having the least affinity with a system so odious to infinite purity and love. A religion emanating from such a source, can have no accordance with the court of iniquity which frameth mischief by a law. Consequently, its professors are solemnly charged, on the authority of the King of Kings, to have no fellowship with such works of moral darkness, but rather to reprove them.

Whatever forbearance past ignorance in relation to this momentous subject may call for, we are assured that the flood of holy light which has now exposed and developed this system of consummate iniquity, enforces with unutterable obligation the mandate of the Almighty, that now all men should repent.

The Convention have no wish to dictate to any Christian Church, in respect to its order or duty. But for the sake of truth and love; for the sake of our brethren suffering, bleeding and dying under this most unrighteous system; for the sake of Zion's purity; for the sake of our beloved country, which is threatened with the holy judgments of that Avenger, into whose ears the cries of the oppressed have entered; and finally, for the sake of the present and eternal interests of more than two millions of souls, we ask, is there not a high and immediate duty devolving on the whole church of the living God, which is the ground and pillar of the truth?

We are indeed zealous, for we believe that it is good to be zealously affected in a good cause. But we wish to have zeal according to knowledge. We wish to give no exaggerated view (if it be possible,) of the evil we deplore. We call for the dispassionate and impartial attention of the professed disciples of the Prince of liberators, who came to make us free from the law of sin and death, to this affecting subject. And we ask,

First. Are not the principles and practices of slavery, as it now actually exists in

these States, really subversive in their nature and tendency of that truth and love which are the pillars of the temple of the living God?

Secondly. Has not the King of Zion, whom the Father has placed on the holy throne, instituted laws by his own precepts, and those of his inspired and commissioned Apostles, for the maintenance of the purity of his church, that she may exhibit to the world what is that holy and acceptable and perfect will of God?

Thirdly. Are not those laws applicable to the subject before us? Is the fact of holding our brethren in slavery, of buying and selling, abusing and tormenting those for whom Christ died; of withholding from them the book of God, the only lamp of life eternal, by keeping them in ignorance; and the other concomitant evils, a course of procedure so compatible with the principles and practices of our holy religion, as not to be the subject of those disciplinary laws which are essential to maintain the true character of the Christian Church?

The Convention wish not to be misunderstood. Whatever may be the views of individual members on this important subject, they do not as a body, at present, declare what, in their opinion, is the duty of the Christian Church in respect to the admission or exclusion of persons who may, in various ways and degrees, be maintaining this abominable system. It is believed that the whole nation has been guilty concerning our brother, in that we have seen the anguish of his soul, when he besought us, and we would not hear. This whole nation is involved in the guilt of robbing God of the workmanship of his hands. Let us not, however, blunt the arrows of conviction, by the delusive impression that individual guilt is cancelled in the gross, or that we are secure because we have followed a multitude to do evil.

The Convention do not hesitate to declare that, in their view, it is the indispensable duty of the churches of Christ to examine and judge, in what manner the laws of his holy kingdom apply to this subject; and what they are bound to do by these immutable laws of holiness and truth, which neither the blindness of prejudice, nor the pleas of expediency can ever disannul. While they deprecate all measures which may tend to mar

that peace of Zion, which is the fruit of truth and love, they are in haste to disturb that deceitful calm of insensibility to iniquity, which is the precursor of that storm of retribution which righteousness awards to all the workers of iniquity.

Attention to this important subject has been awakened at different times, and among different denominations of professing christians. More than seventy years ago, the Friends made a successful effort to purify themselves from this evil. The few members of that Society who had been allured from the path of righteousness and love, by the hope of gain, were persuaded to abandon their practice. Many churches of the Baptist denomination, the Associate Presbyterian, and the Reformed Presbyterians, have considered it their duty to apply the laws of Jesus Christ more or less to this subject. If any suppose that these laws do not apply to this subject, we ask, to what subject can they apply? The true church of Jesus Christ is denominated the light of the world, the salt of the earth. It deserves the solemn consideration of all the churches in the United States, who claim a title to this high and holy character, whether or not they are exhibiting these characteristics in relation to the subject before us. Are they the light of the world in respect to the true evil and guilt of slavery? Is their testimony, verbal and practical, clear, holy, and decisive on this matter? Are they preserving themselves from the corruption of this ruinous iniquity? Alas! so far from this, it is our belief, that the criminal supineness of men professing godliness, and the intimate and incongruous connection of slavery in its most odious forms, with the churches in these States, has long constituted the chief shield with which this man of sin has repelled the arrows of truth. Had the champions of the Cross gone forth with the whole armor of God, with invincible prayer, they would long ago have seen this monster fall like Philistia's Idol before the Ark of the Almighty. And now we are well assured that all other means, without these, will prove abortive. Solemnly impressed with this conviction, and feeling our accountability to the God of justice and mercy, we do most earnestly and affectionately call upon all who fear God, to cast away that compromising spirit and that illusive doctrine of expediency, which have so long sacrificed truth,

righteousness and love, the laws of God and the rights of man, on their reeking and polluted altars.

Out of Zion, the perfection of beauty, God hath shined. Our God shall come, and shall not keep silence: a fire shall devour before him—he shall call to the heavens from above, and to the earth, that he may judge his people—and the heavens shall declare his righteousness, for God is Judge himself. Hear, O my people, and I will speak, O Israel, and I will testify against thee.'

Does not this solemn appeal call on all the professed people of the Lord, in this slaveholding and guilty nation, to prepare to meet their God in his awful judgments, if we repent not? May the Lord grant us that repentance to the acknowledgment and practice of the truth.

HENRY GREW, *Chairman.*

PRODUCTIONS OF FREE LABOR.

The Committee appointed to inquire into the expediency of recommending to the American Anti-Slavery Society to make the offer of a premium of such amount as they shall deem proper, on certain articles produced by free labor in any part of the United States, beg leave to report:

Your Committee believe that the subject of the resolution committed to their consideration, has a bearing on the good cause which we are associated to promote, of such importance as to merit the serious attention of the Convention.

It must be obvious to every reflecting mind, that the desolating waters of slavery, which, amid storms of vile oppressions, are bearing away their miserable victims to the ocean of death, are to be traced to the fountains of depravity in the human heart. The idolatry of covetousness, which the Lord of all abhorreth, has sacrificed on its cruel altars all the rights and interests of man.

What motive induced the owner of the first slave ship to invade the land of the colored man, to steal his brother, and bear him away from his wife, his children, and his home? Was it not that love of money which is the root of all evil? What induced the West India planter to purchase the living flesh and blood and bones sent to him by the soul of avarice? Was it not the hope of unrighteous gain, to be obtained from the

hard and unrequited labors of the wretched captive? And on what foundation did that hope rest, but on the assurance that individuals would purchase and consume the produce of that uncompensated and cruel toil? Here, then, we see the galling chain, and that it is the last link which moves all the rest. As it is for the consumer of the fiery poison, that the retailer applies to the wholesale vender, and he to the distiller; so in this case, it is for the consumer the lash is driving the slave to his toil, the man-stealer is going about this land of pretended freedom seeking whom he may devour, and the slave ship is violating all law both human and divine.

Let the consumers of the liquid poison say to the retailer, we shall drink no more of your waters of death, and what is the consequence? He buys no more; the wholesale vender buys no more; the distiller makes no more. So if the consumers of slave produce should say, we will no longer be partakers of other men's sins, we will eat no more, we will wear no more, the product of fraud and oppression, of the groans and tears of our brethren, the consequence must be, that the labor of the slave would be valuable no more. The sordid and reckless trafficker in human souls would buy and sell no more; and no more would the ocean bear on her polluted bosom the abodes of the miserable victims of relentless avarice and cupidity.

It is believed that free labor, if generally established on equitable principle, would promote, in various respects, the prosperity of the slaveholding States. It is obvious, however, that under the present direful and lamented system, the extraordinary efforts and means necessary to furnish the friends of humanity with the articles enumerated in the resolution, in the desirable contemplated manner, must be attended with some additional expense. It cannot, therefore, be reasonably expected that the end proposed in the resolution can be obtained without the means it suggests.

Impressed with the belief that the object of the resolution is in perfect accordance with the great and distinguishing principle of our noble association, your Committee present these few considerations, which incline them to the conclusion that the recom-

mendation proposed in the following resolution is expedient :

Resolved, That it be recommended to the American Anti-Slavery Society to make the offer of a premium of dollars for every cwt. of merchantable cotton; for every cwt. of rice; for every cwt. of sugar; and for hlds. of molasses, of a good and merchantable quality:—such premium to be paid upon satisfactory evidence being presented that such articles are the produce of *free labor* in any part of the United States.

All which is respectfully submitted.

HENRY GREW,
SAMUEL FOSTER,
HENRY E. BENSON.

MANUAL LABOR SCHOOL.

The Committee to whom was submitted the subject of 'Manual Labor Schools,' ask leave respectfully to

REPORT.

Your Committee are not only satisfied of the utility of manual labor schools, in general, when organized on sound principles, and managed by a judicious policy; but they are deeply impressed with the conviction, that such schools, if carried into operation by those who maintain the *true* principles of civil and religious liberty, will tend, more than almost any other means, to elevate the condition of our free colored population, put them in *possession* of those privileges which are their due as *American citizens*, and powerfully co-operate with those great moral causes, which are now in operation to the ultimate extinction of slavery.

We are well aware that the colored population throughout New-England have, by custom and prejudice,—which are stronger than law,—if not by law itself, been almost universally excluded the blessings of science and of literature. If here and there a *few* have been raised to enjoy the boon of what may be called an ordinary education; and here and there an individual has attained to any degree of eminence in science or literature, it has been wholly without any public aid, or even those ordinary inducements, which are held out to all other classes of the community. The soul, imbued with an inherent and unquenchable thirst for knowledge, has been obliged to *force* its way against obstacles, which required the utmost fortitude,

resolution, and perseverance to surmount; and nothing but that noble *energy* of mind, which occasionally bursts those bonds by which prejudice and misanthropy have sought to enchain it, has ever been sufficient to obtain those draughts at the 'Pierian spring,' which are so salutary to an immortal mind. Shut out from our high-schools, academies, and colleges, and, in very few instances, enjoying any of those primary instructions which are afforded to white children, it would seem as if one great system of darkness had been framed and carried into execution for the express purpose of perpetually shrouding our whole colored population. Thus the iron hand of prejudice and of hatred crushes a brother to the dust, and then the finger of scorn points him out as an object *too degraded* and unworthy to enjoy the blessings of freedom!

In order to remedy these, and other serious evils which could not be enumerated in this Report; your Committee are persuaded, that it is the imperious duty of the people of New-England to provide schools expressly for the benefit of the colored population. But, as the institution of Primary Schools, on the best system, for the instruction of *children*, must be the work of time, and cannot come within the scope of our *immediate* efforts; your Committee recommend, that it be a primary object of this Convention, in connection with the New-England Anti-Slavery Society, as speedily as possible, to establish, in New-England, one High Manual Labor, or Self-supporting School, for the express purpose of educating those colored persons, who may be disposed to avail themselves of its advantages. The establishment of one such school, on enlightened and liberal principles, would tend to prepare the way for others of a similar nature; would speedily qualify individuals to engage in the instruction of Primary Schools; and your Committee think, that such a measure would very soon open the way for the light of literature and of science, to beam upon a now *benighted* and 'degraded' population. Such a measure as this, to be carried into effect as speedily as possible, seems absolutely necessary, in order to secure the munificent bequest of a worthy, venerable and enlightened philanthropist, not long since deceased; to secure the great object of Mr. GARRISON'S mission to England, and to render of any avail those

funds which have already been raised for this object, by the friends of humanity both in England and America. For the accomplishment of this object, many have now been looking, for a considerable time, with intense feelings of friendly interest; others have inquired, with a sneering smile, 'What has become of your Manual Labor School;?' not a few, with confident expectation, that something efficient would speedily be done, have asked, 'When is the Manual Labor School going into operation?' and others still have stood ready liberally to contribute for that object, whenever they could see a rational prospect of its being accomplished.

The School which your Committee contemplate, and which is doubtless contemplated by this Convention and by the New-England Anti-Slavery Society, would probably require, to commence its successful operation, a sum of — dollars. To this sum, John Kenrick, Esq., late of Newton, and late President of the New-England Anti-Slavery Society, bequeathed 250 dollars; and the sum of — dollars has already been raised in England and in this country. So that the sum of — dollars is now necessary to be raised in order to commence the operation of the School contemplated in this Report.

The Committee, therefore, believing that the time and the day has now arrived when a prompt, and earnest, and vigorous effort ought to be made for the immediate establishment in New-England of a Manual Labor School for our colored brethren—and believing that the subject ought to receive the full and deliberate attention of this Convention, submit the following Resolutions:

1. Resolved, That a vigorous effort ought to be made for the immediate establishment of the Manual Labor School.

2. Resolved, That a subscription be now opened in this Convention, for this specific purpose, and that we request our friends in this Convention to give this subscription their liberal and zealous support.

3. Resolved, That a Committee be appointed by this Convention to see that the fullest means be used to raise by subscriptions and contributions, before the end of six months, the sum of ten thousand dollars, to be wholly devoted to the establishment of the school, and that this Committee be requested to prepare and publish an address to the public, and to appoint an agent to collect donations and contributions.

SPEECHES.

WEDNESDAY EVENING, May 28.

MR. STUART'S SPEECH.

MR. CHARLES STUART of England, addressed the audience. What, said he, is the cause that brings us here this evening, my friends. It is the cause of freedom in a land of boasted freedom—it is the cause of the colored man, for he is oppressed, and whoever man is oppressed, there the Scriptures teach us is our neighbor—it is the cause of the white man, for he is the criminal, and we are taught to care for those who are criminal as we would ourselves be cared for—it is the cause of liberty, of truth, of benevolence, of mercy, of justice,—the cause of the great God himself.

But before I proceed to present some few reasons why this cause should engage the attention of every philanthropist and christian, permit me to say a few words, in giving my testimony to correct two errors which I find have been widely circulated in this country. One is that the blessed Wilberforce; once blessed on earth, as all are who love the Lord, now blessed in heaven as all shall be whom the Lord loveth; had signed the protest against the Colonization plan, while laboring under the debility of sickness, and not in the full possession of his judgment. I have heard this story since I left England, and I now wish to give it a denial, and proclaim it a falsehood. No, it was upon full, candid and prayerful investigation that he put his name to that document, in the full possession of his holy mind, before the brief sickness that terminated his life had seized him, and it rejoiced his spirit, when about to depart to receive its reward, that this was one of the last acts of his life to leave his testimony against a system adapted to strengthen unjust prejudices, and rivet the chains of slavery.

Another misrepresentation I wish to correct is in reference to the visit of Mr. Garrison to England. It has been stated that while in England he traduced his country. It is not true, dear friends. I lived with him a month in London. I do not believe him a hypocrite, and if he were, I had every possible opportunity of knowing his real sentiments, and if ever I knew a pure minded man, ardently devoted to a pure cause, that

man is William Lloyd Garrison. He never slandered his country in private or public. I wish to give this denial, from personal observation.

I will now offer as a resolution the following:

Resolved, That immediate emancipation is the only right and efficient remedy for slavery.

What is slavery? By slavery we mean the bondage of persons innocent of any crime by which they can have forfeited their right to that liberty which God has given to every man who cometh into the world. It is the bondage of the innocent. It is such slavery as exists in one half of this glorious empire. It is a state in which those under it have no legal protection for their person, their property, or even for the chastity of their wives and daughters. Nay, more, they have no right to cultivate their immortal minds. This is the condition in which one sixth part of the innocent population of this great and free empire are placed by its laws. Yes, Mr. President, one in every six of the people of this free Republic are slaves. They have no sufficient protection for their lives because they may be taken with impunity, or at most for the penalty of a fine. They have no right to acquire property for themselves, and can call nothing their own. They have no right to receive instruction, nor has any one the right to preach to them the unsearchable riches of Christ.

But these slaves are so well off, say those who justify or excuse slavery; is it not a blessing for them to have been brought from their barbarous country to a land of light and liberty, where they are made so comfortable? As if we had a right to steal men and deprive them of liberty, in order to make them happy against their will. I will answer this as the clergyman did, in the North of Ireland. I will suppose, he said, that Nicholas, the emperor of Russia, should die, and the throne be left vacant. I will suppose that the nobles of that great empire had heard of me, a poor minister in the north of Ireland, and had sent a deputation to summon me to the vacant throne. Still, I should prefer my own coarse fare, my little parish, my homely fireside, my relations and friends, here in this obscure place, to all the pomp of the throne of Russia; must I be torn forcibly from them, because those who carry me

away insist that I should be happier as an emperor, than as I am? Would it be any compensation to me for the loss of liberty and all I loved, to give me a throne? This is the answer of the slave, when you attempt to justify the robbery of his freedom, because he may be, in your opinion, better off, than if he had not been stolen.

The remedy we propose for this great evil of slavery, is immediate emancipation, by which is meant the immediate substitution of right law for wrong law, of equitable law for unequitable law; in short, emancipation without expatriation. Who, in a land of freedom, can take pleasure in a law which authorizes one class of men to be as cruel and as selfish as they please, to another class equal before God, and alike entitled to their unalienable right of freedom, and yet without protection, from law?

The friends of anti-slavery seek to deliver these innocent people from tyranny and despotism, and restore them to liberty. Liberty! What man, woman or child is there here, who would not sooner lay down their life than lose their liberty by an unjust law? And shall we not do unto others who are in bondage, as we would they should do unto us, were we in their case, and they in ours? Immediate emancipation is the right remedy, because it is right that the slave should go free; every other measure, is merely *preparing* to do right, while we are still continuing to do wrong. Will you ever accomplish any good purpose in this way? You may prepare, and continue preparing, but so long as you do nothing but prepare, you continue to do wrong. The question is a simple one. Slavery is wrong. He who continues to hold his fellow man in bondage, or countenances others in so doing, does wrong or upholds wrong. The only right thing is that the slave should have his freedom. The slaveholder may say he is *preparing* to do right, but that is not doing right. The drunkard may be preparing to do right, and yet continue to resort to the intoxicating bowl. The robber may be preparing to do right, and still persist in his lawless depredations. The liar may be preparing to do right, and still go on in falsehood and wickedness. There is no right so long as the wrong is practised. Half of right is not right. If I restore one half of what I have dishonestly taken from my neighbor, do I do right? If I

wait to repair the wrong I have done, until I can do so without injury to myself, is that doing right? We owe to the slave his liberty, of which he has been unjustly deprived. Emancipation can alone pay the debt. We cannot stop short of our whole duty, for man has no license to stop short of that point.

Let us make the case of the slave our own, and bring it home to the community in which you live. Suppose a respected and beloved family in the city of Boston, should be kidnapped, and carried into slavery, a calamity which, thank God, cannot happen in this community of laws and good order; and yet white men have been stolen and carried into bondage, as well as colored men. Not long ago, travelling in the South part of Ireland, I was shown the ruins of a castle on the sea, where, in former years, a band of Algerine Corsairs had landed, had made prisoners or put to death every soul, and carried off three hundred people as slaves. Suppose that a similar outrage should happen here, and a father, a mother and their children should be kidnapped. What would satisfy you? Would any thing satisfy you short of the restoration of the whole to their freedom? Would the return of the father, while the wife and children were left in bondage, be a reparation of the wrong? Would the restoration of both the parents, while the children were retained, be all that you would ask? Would you be content to have *one* left behind? No, nothing would be sufficient to repair the wrong, but bringing back father, mother, children, all.

Take the case of a slavemaster, and let us see if he is satisfied with any thing short of his whole right. He has a *legal* right to oppress his fellow men, and a heart to avail himself of this legal right. He has lost a slave, who has fled from bondage to a free state. The law allows him to reclaim the slave. Will he be satisfied with any thing short of the whole slave, or the whole of his value? He insists on immediate restoration, and though years may pass away, before he discovers the slave he has lost, still he claims him as his property.

A slave made his escape from a southern state, eight or nine years ago, and got to Philadelphia. This was no crime in the slave. It was right for him to have his freedom, and the law cannot make a right action wrong. The slave was guilty of no crime

in taking what he had been robbed of, his liberty. He got employment in Philadelphia, was industrious and prosperous;—married, and was rearing a little family in love. A few months ago, the man who claimed him as his slave discovered him, and urged his claim, and it was allowed by the law. The owner of the slave was offered three hundred dollars if he would let him remain in freedom. Was this sufficient? Did it satisfy him? No. He said, 'I would not take a thousand dollars for him. I must carry him back to my plantation; I must punish him, in the sight of all my slaves, to strike terror into their minds, and teach them, that though they may go clear for years, they will finally be brought back and made to suffer, if they run away from their master. When I have punished him enough, then if you will come and offer me a thousand dollars, perhaps I will take it.'

Now if the slavemaster, under all these claims to his mercy and generosity, would not abate a jot of his price for his slave, shall the friends of emancipation—shall the injured slave himself, be satisfied with any thing short of a full restitution of all his rights to the slave? Shall we deem any thing sufficient but this? Yes, my friends, the slavemaster teaches us our duty. He insists upon all his rights, even to the tearing of the husband and father from the wife and children; and has not the unhappy slave a prior right, a higher and a holier right—the unalienable right of liberty?

I will not pursue this subject. I might draw a picture of this one instance of the effects of slavery that would make the heart weep, but I forbear, and will content myself with offering the resolution,—[which was then adopted.]

SPEECH OF REV. S. L. POMROY.

Mr. President,—The ground of the principles of anti-slavery are, that it is the duty of all men, every where, to do right. There is a right, and there is a wrong, in every act requiring moral agency. On which side are you, is the question—are you right or are you wrong? Now, as friends of emancipation, we say that if any one is doing wrong, he should leave off doing wrong; not next year, or next week, when he has done more wrong, but now, at this moment, before he

can do any more wrong. Slavery is wrong. It never can be right. The longer it is persisted in the greater will the wrong accumulate. This is our principle—cease to do wrong! We proclaim it in peace and love. We want to emblazon it on the heavens, to blow it through a trumpet,—*let the oppressed go free*, until every ear is made to hear, and every heart to feel and believe—and as soon as men are convinced it must be done, we shall have no trouble about the means—there will be a way to effect it. It is in this belief, that our starting principle is placed on a foundation which cannot be moved, that I offer as a Resolution.

Resolved, That no valid objection can be urged against the principles and measures of the Anti-Slavery Society.

Ours is the golden rule, do unto others as ye would that others should do unto you. Who, then, if he were a slave, would not wish to be free? Would you ask for colonization or for immediate emancipation? Every moment you keep the slave in bondage, you violate the law of love, and yet we are told, that if we knock off the fetters of the slave and let him go free, it would be very cruel to him indeed, and we ought to keep him in slavery some hundred years longer, until we can civilize Africa, and prepare a place to send him there, where he will trouble nobody but people of his own color! Is this the law of love? Is this the way you would wish to be done by, if you were slaves in a foreign land, or in the land where you were born?

This is the right test to settle this question by—Come down at once to the condition of the slave, and make it your own. How long would a free man like to live in slavery? Suppose we were all slaves, assembled here to discuss our right to be free, how long should we propose to have the process go on, of making us freemen? Would we wait till our children or grand children should take our places? No. There would be but one voice, and that voice would be, *immediate emancipation!*

But it is said that we cannot elevate the people of color here, and we must send them to Africa, in order to elevate them; though they never can be elevated much any where, because their skins are so much darker than ours. And who are we, the pale faces, but a small portion of mankind, a new race, com-

paratively; and yet we rise up and say our color is the only true color, and all other color is incapable of being elevated to our standard. I deny it. God made the soul of man of no particular complexion, and he is no more a respecter of colors, than he is a respecter of persons. The colored people not only can be elevated, but they are many of them elevated, even under all the discouragements and prejudices they have to contend against.

I went to visit a colored family, with several gentlemen, recently, in Philadelphia. The father was seventy years of age, with a family of three daughters. We found them elevated and refined, with a cultivation of mind and manners that would have adorned the best society. When we left the house, the clergymen, who were with me, said to each other, we talk of elevating these people, and because we are white and they are black, we doubt whether they ever can be elevated to our condition. So strongly impressed was the gentleman who made this remark, that he shed tears at the recollection of the scene we had witnessed. These people were elevated in spite of every thing to counteract their own efforts. The idea of inferiority of intellect in the people of color is wholly without foundation. We falsely attribute to natural organization, the irresistible influence of circumstances upon our colored population. Go to the intelligent slaveholder himself, and ask him if his slaves are incapable of being elevated. He will laugh at you, if you tell him that his favorite slaves are not equal in faculties to white men.

To say they cannot be elevated, is to say that the gospel cannot purify and elevate colored men; and if the gospel cannot do this, then it must be a settled point that either the colored man or the white man is to be shut out of heaven. Both cannot go there, unless both are alike capable of being elevated by the teachings of the gospel.

But some people say that we have no business to meddle with this matter. We at the north have nothing to do with slaves, and need not trouble our heads about their management at the South. That is the affair of their masters, and we have no concern with it!

Now, Sir, if this is a good argument I call upon some of those who urge it, to move, at the next meeting of the American Bible So-

ciety, of which they are members, to stop their presses, and print no more Bibles to meddle with the concerns of other people. Let them move, in the Missionary Societies, that the missionaries they have sent abroad to meddle with other people's souls be forthwith called home, for we have no business to interfere with the concerns of the unconverted, and must not trouble our heads about their worship of idols, and the sacrifice of victims to their superstitions and their false gods!! Will these men follow this advise, while they recommend to us to leave the slaveholders alone to do as they please? By no means. No one thinks of applying this doctrine to any thing but the Anti-Slavery Society. If the Greeks are struggling for freedom three thousand miles off; if the Poles are suffering under the despotism of Russia: we can then interfere—Oh, yes! it is the highest duty of patriotism and benevolence to interfere, and help set them free; all the eloquence of the press and the pulpit is roused, to induce us to interfere; but when we point to these poor colored people, right in our own boasted land of freedom, here in our midst, the answer is, let them die—let their masters scourge and oppress them as they will—we have no right to interfere!

I have no faith in this doctrine. I believe, that as long as there are souls to be saved, we have something to do with every man on the globe, as far as our influence can be made to reach; especially have we something to do with more than two millions of Americans whom we of the North consented the South should hold in bondage, and, so far, have become participators in the guilt of slavery. This was the sin of our fathers. The people of the North have upheld slavery, and made it constitutional. The guilt is theirs, and it is their duty to repair the wrong they have aided in doing, to an innocent race. They can do it, and do it effectually; for whenever the North will rise as one man, and demand that the slaves shall be free, it will be done. God calls upon us to break their chains, not by violence, but by the resistless moral force of truth! We have got a great deal to do, and we can do a great deal, to bring about the emancipation of more than two millions of our fellow-men.

But it is said, 'Why do you make so much noise about it here, at the North, where

there are no slaves. Why don't you go to the South, and preach to the slaveholders there? You can be very bold and bluster here, but you don't dare to go to the South, and hold forth your anti-slavery doctrines. If you were sincere you would go there, and preach to those who need it?

Now we Yankees know better than this. We don't go to work in this way to accomplish an important object. We know that we can reach the slaveholder more effectually here, than we could at the South. Why, Sir, you know if we went to the South and attempted to tell them the plain truth, they would gag us, and perhaps put us in jail, or offer a reward for our heads, as the refined Legislature of Georgia did, for our brother here, (Mr. Garrison) so that we should have no chance to preach the truth. But so long as we have the freedom of speech and of the press here, we can reach the slaveholder, and produce an impression upon him, which he will long resist, but from which he cannot finally escape. It is the power of truth, and it will prevail. I saw a Tennessee slaveholder, the other day, and I asked him if he had ever heard of the Anti-Slavery Society? His reply was, we are well informed of your proceedings. We know what you are doing, and our interest makes us alive to your movements. You think you make us angry, but I tell you honestly, and other slaveholders if they speak honestly will tell you so too, we think you will eventually accomplish your object, but I think you are going too fast. The time, he thought, had not yet come for our principles to find favor in the slave states, but it must come one day or other, and he was prepared for it, but not now. These were the views of an intelligent slaveholder in the West. He had heard of anti-slavery doctrines. Sir, you cannot touch a cord in this great republic that does not vibrate through the whole. Every pulsation at the North is felt at the South. Every effort made for home emancipation, strikes there. Intelligence is sought after. Their own sensitiveness on this subject, an undefined consciousness that they are holding a species of property to which they have no just claim, induce them to seek after intelligence, to learn what is going forward in the march of public opinion, which is calling louder and louder, for the emancipation of the slave. Sir, we are doing just the thing to

enable the slaveholder to accomplish his own wishes, in being relieved from the curse of slavery. We are bringing the minds of the public to the conviction that slavery must be abolished, and when that conviction becomes universal, it will be done. I repeat, there will be no difficulty in finding the means.

But it is said that the Constitution and laws recognize slavery, and therefore we have no right to meddle with it. Just so the Constitution and the laws recognized the foreign slave trade, a few years ago. Why did we undertake to meddle with that, and deprive the slave dealer of his very profitable commerce in human flesh? Was it *right* to carry on the slave trade when it was not prohibited by law? And if it was not right to traffic in the souls and bodies of men *abroad*, can it be any more right to do so at *home*? Let those who talk of slavery being constitutional and lawful, restore the slave trade in all its glories; for if it is right to hold slaves and sell them *here*, it verily must be right to import them, and buy and sell them *abroad*.

Those who think to stop our mouths by saying that slavery is sanctioned by the Constitution and laws, must go upon the principle that bad laws are never to be changed. We do not seek to violate the law but to change it; change it by the resistless force of public opinion. Why, Sir, law and custom formerly sanctioned drinking rum and brandy, and they do so still, though to a less extent—but does that make it *right*? Ought you to stop in the temperance reform, because it is *lawful* for men to sell and to drink ardent spirit? Why do you meddle with the rights and the profits of the rum trader if we are not to meddle with the rights and the profits of the slave trader? The law and the constitution protect one, as much as the other, and instead of depriving the slaveholder of his property, we mean to increase it, by giving him free labor, instead of slave labor.

But be the laws as they may, the laws of fallible man cannot make that which is *morally wrong*, even *politically right*, or expedient, or useful. The question is not what are the laws, in this respect, but are the laws right? If they are morally and politically wrong, then the thing for us to do, is not to resist such laws, but to see that they are repealed; and to this end to quicken and

extend public opinion, until Legislatures are forced to repeal such unjust laws. If there is a stain on our boasted constitution—a stain of *blood*, let us hasten to wipe it off. We seek to redeem the constitution from the disgrace of making our Declaration of Independence a falsehood, and it is because we love our country that we desire to see her laws recognizing slavery, forever abolished.

There is another objection which is urged against the Anti-Slavery principles with great earnestness. They tell us, 'your plan is to emancipate the slaves at home, but O! horrible! just as sure as you let the slaves go *free*, they will turn right round and stab their masters, and the land will be deluged with blood!' In other words, if you do *right*, by these your oppressed fellow men; if you say to them you are *free*, if instead of exacting their labor, as slaves, at the end of the whip, you employ them as your laborers, by mutual agreement, and give them the benefit of their voluntary industry—if you undertake to treat them in this manner, why then they will certainly stab you for it, on the spot!

Stab you for it? No! These poor, crushed beings, to whom the voice of kindness and freedom would come like an angel of peace, tell them they were *free*, that you wanted their services as men, and not as slaves, and they would fall at your feet, and help you, and hold themselves in readiness to do any labor in their power for you; you would then have willing hands and grateful hearts around you, instead of the half-starved, wretched and beaten slave, brooding over his wrongs, and thirsting for vengeance on his oppressors.

I do not understand this, Mr. President. It is the strangest doctrine in the world, that if you do right, and give a man just what he most wants, he will be so angry, that he will take your life for it! Look at it a moment, and the argument refutes itself. All facts in history show that immediate emancipation has always proved a safe remedy. How was it in Mexico? The colored people were placed on an entire equality, by the Constitution. There was no stabbing of masters there, no murders, no violence, and no necessity for expatriation. Instead of slaves, they had the same men, as free laborers. So in South Africa, the Hottentots, regarded as the lowest race of men, were emancipated at a blow, and Dr. Clarke informs us, that they

at once became industrious and orderly citizens. Wherever the experiment has been tried, it has resulted in improving the condition not only of the slave, but of the master, by giving the latter the benefit of free labor, instead of slave labor.

But we are told to look at St. Domingo, with its horrible massacres and terrible devastation,—and that they say, it is a true picture of immediate emancipation. It is not so, and those who assert that it is, are either ignorant of history or wilfully misrepresent it. The massacres of St. Domingo had nothing to do with emancipation. France, when a Republic, had proclaimed freedom to the slaves of her colony in St. Domingo. They were then emancipated in a body, and the historian relates that they were employed as free laborers, and worked peaceably and industriously, so much so, that he says they carried on whole plantations themselves, in the absence of their employers, who were never more prosperous than at this time. When Napoleon was supreme in his power, some of the planters of St. Domingo proposed to give him a large sum of money to carry on his wars, if he would reduce the colored people there again to slavery. It pleased this man of ambition, who thought more of a victory than of the liberties of millions, and he sent out an army, to subdue the colored people of St. Domingo, and reduce them to slavery. When these men, who had tasted of freedom, heard of this, they resolved to die, sooner than submit to put on their chains again. They fought for freedom, and drove out the French who had been sent to conquer them, and swept from the Island every Frenchman, with a terrible destruction. That was the cause of the massacres of St. Domingo; not *emancipation*, but an attempt to make slaves of men who had been emancipated. Such was the spirit of those men, that the whole power of France, in the days of Napoleon, was unable to subdue them. They retreated to the mountains, cut off the resources of their foes, and finally compelled them to leave them in the enjoyment of freedom, which they have ever since maintained. Our fathers resisted a tax on tea, even unto blood, and we rejoice in their deeds of patriotic valor. But they were not threatened with *slavery*, as the people of St. Domingo were, when they resisted the power of France.

These facts which I have related of the history of St. Domingo may be found in French history, and are indisputable.

But there is one other objection and the only one I will notice, which is made a great handle of, by our opponents—you will dissolve the Union, say they, if you preach up Anti-Slavery! This is the knock down argument. If we dare to tell the truth, to proclaim the rights of man, and insist that the Declaration of Independence is not a falsehood, why then, to be sure, we shall dissolve the Union.

So far from this being true, we regard our object as the only effectual means of preserving the Union. We want to save the Union. Slavery is the mother of all the sectional divisions and heart burnings which threaten the dissolution of the Union. The great political struggle is between free labor and slave labor, and if slavery continues, the Union cannot continue. It is so black, so full of evil, so pernicious in its influences, that there will be no security, no peace, no permanent national prosperity till it is done away. The great eternal and just God, will never bless a people, which holds in its embrace and countenances such an evil in the land, as the slavery of more than two millions of our fellow men. Let our politicians and our public men, do what they will, they may depend upon it we shall never be one nation, and one people, until slavery is done away.

Mr. Pomroy said, that in the course of his remarks he had alluded to the arguments of the slaveholder, that the condition of the slave was improved, by his being held in bondage, and that we had no right to interfere with his privilege of holding his slaves, as property, because it was secured to him, by the Constitution and laws. These and other arguments of the apologists of Slavery were forcibly presented, in a petition, which he would suppose was presented, some thousand years ago, from the Egyptians to the Senate of Egypt, concerning the Hebrews. He then read the following from the New-York Evangelist.

A PARABLE FOR THE CAROLINAS.

To the Princes and Lords of Egypt, in Senate assembled:

'The petition of the undersigned, being free born citizens of the land of Zoan, sheweth—

'That we, your petitioners, are all honor-

able and just men, and as much attached to the religion and institutions of the land as any class of Pharaoh's subjects.

'That your petitioners, on the faith of compacts, have embarked all their property in building Pyramids.

'That your petitioners verily believe that the building of Pyramids cannot be carried on at all by free labor.

'That, therefore, your petitioners were induced, according to the law of nations, to make slaves of the Hebrew shepherds.

'That the state of slavery is the most congenial to the Hebrew intellect, and rank in existence—and that their state in slavery is infinitely superior to their former starving and perishing state in the land of Canaan.

'That if your petitioners had no motives of humanity, yet that from motives of interest and profit, they would look after the health and comfort of their slaves, as much as the proprietors of any other cattle would look after their herds in the land of Goshen.

'That the slaves like their situation well, and would remain perfectly satisfied with their easy and comfortable condition, were it not for the officious meddling of a gang of canting hypocritical missionaries, and a junta of despicable saints in the Senate, headed by the upstart Moses.

'That the slaves, though they much love their present state, are, some of them, exceedingly stubborn—and others run away from their work—and that, therefore, your petitioners are obliged to brand them in order to know them, and also to use a scourge and a goad in order to keep them at their work—but, generally speaking, the scourge and the goad are rather the insignia of power in the drivers than instruments of cruelty.

'That your petitioners hear with horror and indignation of an unjust and iniquitous requisition of emancipating the Hebrew slaves totally and immediately, which your petitioners cannot contemplate without shuddering at such a gross violation of vested rights.

'That your petitioners beg permission to declare, temperately but firmly, that if this clamor about the Hebrew slaves shall be continued, we your petitioners will oppose it with force and arms, and will declare ourselves independent. And your petitioners shall ever pray, and dissolve the union.'

REMARKS OF MR. CHOULES.

REV. J. O. CHOULES of New-Bedford, addressed the Convention. He said he was asked to-day how long he had been in favor of emancipation, and his answer was that when he was quite a child, residing in England the place of his birth, he went with his grandfather to visit Mr. Wilberforce the great philanthropist and christian. He took him

on his knee, and show him a figure, representing an African slave, with his manacled hands raised imploringly to heaven, and the supplication put into his mouth, 'Am I not a man and a brother?' He asked what it meant, and his venerable friend explained to him the nature of slavery. From that moment, said Mr. C. I have been an abolitionist—the lesson sunk so deep in his mind he never could erase it, so that he dated his conversion to the doctrines of Anti-Slavery, from the time he was six years of age.

This was his answer to the question, how long it was since he had been converted to Anti-Slavery. These were the principles he had learned as a child in England, and they had been strengthened and confirmed in his manhood, in America. I am, said he, an Englishman by birth—I love the land of my birth, but I *adore* the land of my adoption.

It was said that this subject of slavery had better be suppressed; that nothing should be said about it to disturb the harmony of the Union. But if *we* are silent, can we hide it from the great Jehovah? Will *he* be silent if we say nothing? No, it cannot be concealed. We cannot conceal it from ourselves. It must be contemplated, and it will flit across the stage to startle those who are guilty of this sin of holding their fellow men in bondage, as did the ghost that affrighted the wicked usurper. Here were two millions and almost a half of our fellow men, deprived of all moral agency, without option, without the power to call even their immortal souls their own; holding life itself at the mercy of a task master, who buys and sells them, and drives them away like cattle. If they are men and have souls to be saved, have they not a right to look up, to extend their manacled hands to heaven, and say in the name of God, who created man in his image, 'We protest against the oppression of our fellow man!'—and who can say that God will not hear them; and who can say, if God be just, that the consequences of that appeal to him against the white man, will not be tremendous?

Mr. C. said he had recently returned from the South, and he was satisfied that perpetuation was the determination of slaveholders. Nothing but the irresistible force of public opinion could break the chains of the slave, and let the oppressed go free. They

have never regarded emancipation as within the range of possibility, and if a single slaveholder has ventured to express such a sentiment, it has been checked at once by those around him. Public opinion must be made to reach them, and support those who are almost persuaded that their true interest, as well as their duty to God, is to emancipate and employ the slave.

What was this slavery? In what light were slaves regarded by their masters? as immortal beings having souls to be saved or lost? O! no. Hundreds of men who were slaves had died this day, and their masters have looked upon them not as men having souls to be saved, but as broken pieces of machinery, the value of which was lost to the owner, because they could not be made to go any longer. Here was the crime of the whole nation: and were we so rich in virtue as to look up to heaven, and dare to ask for a blessing on our country, with this plague-spot upon it? He had lately met with a clergyman, who had been in a slave family, the head of which was a professing christian, and after prayers, he asked the minister to go to his slaves and see if they were not satisfied with their condition. They were called in for that purpose, but they knew that their master was where he could hear what was said, and that the lash would be the consequence of their telling the truth. It is thus that the fear of God is put out, in the conscience of the poor slave, by the fear of his master. The master cannot tell his slave all about God, for if he does, the slave will wonder why he became such, and he will never believe that his master can fear God. The slave master has to pray for ignorance. From all Sunday schools, religious teachings and reformations, he prays to be delivered, for fear he shall lose his slaves. If a cloud of heavenly blessings is about to fall, the planter must pray that it will pass over his plantation. Let it fall any where else but there, for if religion or knowledge gets among his slaves, he dreads the effect upon them more than he does the cholera or the plague. Professing christian men, who are owners of slaves, are thus striving to shut out the blessed light of the gospel from the benighted mind of the slave. We must talk of this, and proclaim it through all the churches, and it must be done, and the truth must be told in the fear of God, even though the rich

should leave the Church. I have seen that done, said Mr. C. but not in my parish.

He rejoiced in being present here to night, and seeing the evidences around him that this cause was progressing, and taking hold of the hearts of men. In order to be present here, he had left another place full of heavenly influences, and had come here to raise his feeble voice in the cry for the emancipation of the slave, that was going up louder and louder every day, to the throne of a just God. He should go home, blessing God for what he had seen and heard, and take courage. The cause had advanced, and was advancing. Three years ago, the most that men could be got to say was that they were getting ready to come over, but now they were coming over by hundreds and thousands. Five years ago he was told that no anti-slavery minister would be able to get a pulpit; now those same persons were ready to say, God be with you; and he would say to his fellow laborers in this cause, God be with you—go on—and you shall yet see the day of deliverance come.

[The Convention here adjourned to meet again on the following evening, for further discussion.]

NOTE. In the course of the evening, a resolution was offered by *Professor Follen*, of Harvard College, relative to providing compensation for the masters of emancipated slaves. Mr. Follen spoke to this resolution in an eloquent manner, though he stated he had not matured his suggestions upon the subject, and he was not prepared at that time to propose any plan, though he had drawn one up. He wished the resolution might lie on the table, to be taken up at some future time. He contended that so far as the relation of master and slave went, the slave had a distinct right to his liberty; and if it could not be obtained in a kind manner, he had a right to escape for it, to fight for it, in every way to obtain it. The slave owner could have no property in his slaves, for there was no such thing, in the nature of things, as property in man. But the constitution and laws secured the slave to the master, and compelled every judge in the free States to be an associate with the slave owner, in securing and delivering up to him his fugitive slave. But it had been said that we were dealing in a cheap philanthropy, which cost

us little or nothing, while it was to deprive the master of his property in slaves. To avoid this imputation, he had thought of a plan not to remunerate the slaveholder, but to relieve him from the effects of emancipating his slaves, and losing his right to their labor. To do this required great sacrifices on the part of the people of the free States; but it was a national evil, a national sin, and all must bear the burden of it, as all were more or less involved in the guilt. With these remarks, which were somewhat extended, Professor Follen moved that his resolution be laid on the table.

MR. DAVID L. CHILD believed that the view taken by the learned Professor was founded on a wrong theory, though it did that gentleman credit, as a liberal philanthropist. He admired the excellent feeling in which it was proposed, but it could be fairly demonstrated that emancipation would take nothing from the slave master, if it was not followed with expatriation. He believed that free labor would be cheaper than slave labor, and thus there would be a gain, rather than a loss of property.

The resolution was then laid on the table.

THURSDAY EVENING, May 28.

The Convention met, and the discussions were resumed.

REMARKS OF REV. MR. BOURNE.

REV. MR. BOURNE, of New-York, [rose immediately after the Choir of colored children had sung an appropriate hymn to Liberty.] I have been, Mr. President, said he, where those children, had they attempted to sing a hymn to the liberty of the slave, would have been rewarded for it with the lash, to remind them of their chains. But, Sir, can any rational being give me a reason why those children, because their skins are colored, should be less entitled to sing a hymn to Liberty, and enjoy liberty themselves, than children whose skins are white? I hope, Sir, we have met here not only to assert abstract right, but to carry forward principle by practice. All agree with us in admitting that slavery is a great evil, but the difficulty is that they are contented with saying it is a great evil. How it is to be abolished they do not undertake to say. There they leave us, and if all men were to go no

farther, there the evil would exist as long as man exists. I propose to examine this evil in its relation to christian churches, and for that purpose I offer as a resolution the following—

Resolved, That as slaveholders can show no just claim to property in the men they hold in bondage, the existence of slavery in the Churches is inconsistent with the christian religion, and ought to be abolished.

But it is said, if we undertake to put this sound doctrine in practice, we shall destroy the churches. Destroy the churches, Mr. President, by obeying the command of God to do unto others as we would that others should do unto us! This is as inconsistent as it would be to say, we shall destroy the justice of God, by doing justice and loving our neighbor as ourself. Destroy the Church, by expelling slavery from it! No, Sir, you would cleanse and purify and save the Church. The experiment has already been tried in one portion of the Church. The Friends have done it. No man, for years, has been allowed to be a member of that religious Society, who holds slaves. It has not destroyed them. Many Baptist Churches, at the South and West, have solemnly entered it on their records that they cannot recognize a slaveholder as a Christian. The Reformed Presbyterian Church will not admit a slaveholder in their communion, and that canon of their Church discipline is rigidly enforced. A proposition was before their Association not long ago, that every slaveholder who was a member, must cease to be a slaveholder, or be excluded from the Church. The proposition was agreed to, and there was no more slavery in that Church. The slaves went free, and the Church was not destroyed. Go and do likewise, is the injunction which comes home to the consciences of every christian Church. How can they escape from it in the sight of God? If a member of a Church steals the smallest particle of property from his neighbor, would he be held a fitting member? and how then can a man be a christian and a man-stealer?

But they tell us that this sin is so woven into the church in the slave States, it cannot be got out. I will tell you how it has been done, and how it can be done effectually. In a Methodist Church, in one of the slave States, the leaders of the classes had resolved that they would not hold christian fellow

ship with any man who held his fellow men in bondage. They went to work, and prayed out every slaveholder in the Church. A Methodist Minister from Kentucky came to preach one day, and he began to talk to the christian brethren about the Bible and religion. Their reply to him was, 'Go back to Kentucky, and wash your hands of the negro blood that sticks to them; make your peace with God for stealing your fellow man, and then come and we will listen to you as a teacher of the gospel of Christ!'

Another man-stealer, who was a preacher, had sold a woman in Lynchburg, (Va.) for \$300. He also came to this little band of faithful christians, and began to inquire into their feelings. Addressing one of them, 'Brother K.' said he, 'how do you feel about the love of God in your soul?' The brother who was thus addressed, jumped up in his seat, and said to him, 'How dare you talk about the love of God! If you had the love of God in your soul, you would love your neighbor. Go back to Lynchburg, pay back the 300 dollars, the price of blood, and set the woman free you have sold into bondage, and then you may talk of the love of God.' I knew a minister in Indiana, one of the purest oracles of the word of God. A man came into his society who had sold his slaves in Georgia, and with the proceeds bought a farm in Virginia. This man became a fanatic in religion. He rebuked the brethren for their conformity to the world in dress, and was much offended in his conscience, if any of them had two or three extra buttons on their coat. The Minister heard him complaining of his brethren for their dress, and he told him that he admired to see a man with a tender conscience, but he could not comprehend how a man could swallow a whole plantation of negroes without hurting his conscience, and yet choke at a few buttons! Let these examples be followed; let the sin of slavery be openly and boldly rebuked wherever it is found to exist in the Church, and the curse will be removed from the professing people of God. [The resolution was then adopted.]

REMARKS OF REV. MR. FROST.

Rev. Mr. Frost, of Whitesboro', N. Y. offered the following resolution:

Resolved, That the doctrine of expediency; that is, making our views of the conse-

quences of an action the criterion of right, instead of the revealed will of God and acknowledged principles of rectitude, is fraught with danger to the interests of the church, and tends inevitably to subvert the dearest rights of man.

The notion of *doing evil that good may come*, is no new doctrine. It is as old as the days of the Apostles, and by them it was condemned.

There is in fact no sound moral distinction between what is right and what is expedient.

What is best on the whole to be done, is both right and expedient. There is no clashing, therefore, between duty and expediency.

But our views of what is expedient are often very narrow and imperfect.

There is but one Being in the universe who can, with unerring certainty, determine in all cases what is expedient.

There is but *one eye* which can accurately survey the whole field of moral influence, and trace all the consequences of moral action under his boundless and eternal reign, and see what is best. The omniscient God alone is, therefore, the only infallible guide. It is always safe to obey him, and trust to his providence, whatever man may command or predict to the contrary.

When fallible man, leaning to his own understanding, turns prophet, and gravely warns us of the consequences of an action, and sets up his notions of expediency as the rule of duty in opposition to the known will of God, there is cause for alarm. He is certainly wrong, and a compliance with his notions of what is expedient will, in every supposeable case, be followed with more disastrous consequences, than obedience to the divine will.

The next safest guide to the will of God, where that will is not definitively made known, is the judgment of the wisest and best among finite beings, and the great principles of rectitude established by the common sense of mankind. He who sets up his own views of expediency, in opposition to these, is probably wrong. The suspicion naturally arises, that some selfish, depraved affection of heart lies back of his reasoning, and controls his judgment.

It is true that an enlightened and unbiassed mind will, in most cases, be able to discover good reasons for the will of God,

and the acknowledged principles of rectitude, by looking at consequences; but there is a great advantage in having an acknowledged standard by which men may at once test the propriety or impropriety of moral action. If such a standard is disregarded, every man is left to his own fallible judgment of consequences as the rule of action. To allow men to do this, would be to sap the foundations of human society, and introduce endless confusion and misrule.

This is the fruitful source of infidelity and atheism. Men become too wise, in their own eyes, to be guided by the word or the providence of God. At length they question the fact that he does speak or provide, and even the fact that he exists.

In looking at the errors which have prevailed, every sober man must be struck with the strong tendency which has been exhibited to set aside the revealed will of God and the acknowledged principles of rectitude, and to set up this principle of expediency in their place.

This was the error of the Jesuits. That the end sanctifies the means, was the maxim upon which they justified their hypocrisy and cunning, and which rendered them the terror of Europe.

What led to the doctrine of the infallibility of the Pope, and of the church of Rome? This doctrine of expediency. What established the Inquisition? Expediency. It was expedient that all men should be made to think alike on matters of religion, and to effect this, it was expedient to resort to torture and murder.

What deprived the common people of the bible? It was inexpedient to trust them to 'search the Scriptures' as God had commanded, because more evil than good would result from such examination.

It was the same doctrine which led to the persecution of the Quakers in this State. It was expedient to prevent heresy, in the armies of Israel, by substituting carnal weapons for spiritual.

It was this mode of reasoning which led a few individuals in a neighboring State, to commit an outrage on one of its citizens, which has shaken the whole nation, and which has led the great body of the people to believe, that the institution itself, which could have induced intelligent men to set at naught a plain command of God, 'Thou shalt

not kill,' must be dangerous to the rights and liberties of men. And by their voice that institution is doomed to destruction, which some of its friends thought it expedient to support by the death of Morgan.

This doctrine of expediency was resorted to as a justification for the slave trade.

It was held 200 years ago to be an act of christian benevolence to take men from Africa, and sell them as slaves in a christian land, where their pious masters might convert them in their chains, and lead them along to heaven!! And now, forsooth, this pliable doctrine, expediency, requires that the slaves shall be held in bondage for the *good of their masters*, as well as their own!!!

What is the plea of the modern duellist for his summary mode of justice, by which the laws of God and man are set aside as unworthy to control a spirit so honorable? It is *expedient* that he should have the privilege to resent an insult by taking the life of his fellow.

These results of the doctrine of expediency clearly show the danger of overlooking the will of God and the great principles of righteousness, and setting up our own wisdom above that of the wisest and best of men, and even that of the Father of lights.

This dangerous doctrine of expediency is the only show of support for that system of abominations, Slavery.

Slavery is manifestly inconsistent with the genius and precepts of christianity, and the acknowledged rights of man.

Most, it is true, will coldly admit that slavery in the abstract is wrong; and yet will contend that its continuance is justified. They assert, and apparently believe, that all men are created equal, and are entitled to the inalienable rights of liberty, agreeably to the Declaration of Independence upon which our government and institutions are based; and in the next breath are stout defenders of slavery in practice, and denounce as fanatics and incendiaries those who have the weakness to believe it ought at once to be abolished.

Such doctrines and denunciations are heard not only from noisy politicians and newspaper scribblers; but from members of Congress, and others in high places. They boast of the wisdom of our fathers, which gave birth to the Declaration of Independence, declaring it a *self-evident* truth that

'*all men are equal*,' and endowed by their Creator with the *inalienable right of liberty*, and yet they insist that it is expedient that every sixth man, woman and child in this nation of freemen should remain a slave.

To be consistent, they should say the Declaration means, and ought so to have read, 'We deem these truths self-evident: that *all men* are created equal, and are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights, among which are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness; *Indians, Negroes, and all colored people that God hath made to dwell on all the face of the earth, excepted.*'

But it is objected to the friends of anti-slavery, 'You are going to deprive the South of their property.' Property? Property in men? Yes, those who make this objection, must contend that men without crime, born as free as themselves, are not the owners of their own bodies and souls. This objection sets aside the doctrines of natural rights, the principles of the Declaration of Independence, and the spirit and genius of christianity.

But it is said, 'If you attempt to convince men of the sin of slavery, you will dissolve the Union.' This is the plea of expediency again. If slavery be a sin, and the Union worth preserving, we shall not dissolve it; for if the freemen of this nation can be made to feel that slavery is a sin, they will abolish it, and thus strengthen the Union which slavery now weakens and threatens to destroy. 'But men will not listen. Those interested will be irritated even by temperate discussion, and a faithful exhibition of the evils of slavery, and will dissolve the Union unless the subject be let entirely alone.' And suppose we let it alone? What then are to be the consequences? Less disastrous? Is it not expedient to do right, lest some should be offended, and do themselves or others injury? If God has said, 'Thou shalt not steal,' and holding men's bodies and souls in slavery is a violation of this law, must we hold our peace, lest those who uphold the system should dissolve the Union? If such be the result, whose is the fault,—those who insist upon the right of violating Heaven's laws and man's rights, or those who show the sin and danger of such violation? Those who disregard the will of God and the rights of man, and not those who respect that will and defend those rights, are to be held responsible for consequences.

And in all cases, the consequences are less disastrous, where only ten righteous men cry out against the sins of the land in which they dwell, than when all follow the multitude in countenancing evil.

Let us, then, not fear to hold men's consciences to first principles, human and divine, however restive they may be, until they are compelled to prove these principles false, or yield to them an unqualified submission. Let this be done, kindly indeed, but *firmly* and *perseveringly*. Thus acting, we are safe. We plant our feet upon solid rock, against which the waves of popular tumult will dash in vain;—we place ourselves in an impregnable fortress, reared by unerring skill, '*against which the gates of hell shall never prevail.*'

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DAVID L. CHILD, Esq. of Boston, seconded the resolution. He said that there was a curious illustration of this doctrine of expediency about keeping men slaves, related in Clarkson's history of the Slave Trade. When Mr. Wilberforce proposed to abolish the slave trade, Alderman Watson of London, a member of Parliament, opposed the measure. And what do you suppose his reason was for doing so? Mr. Speaker, said he, if you abolish the slave trade, what will become of the West Indies, nay more, what will become of Newfoundland! There is a vast quantity of refuse fish consumed by the slaves, and where shall we find a market for this fish if we abolish the slave trade!

The resolution was unanimously adopted.

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[Since the speech of the Rev. Mr. FROST was delivered, the Publishing Committee have received the following communication from that gentleman, in further explanation of his views on the subject of slavery.]

If the address I made at the late New-England Anti-Slavery Convention is published, I should wish it might be accompanied with the following additional remarks. It is impossible, in the short space usually allotted to a speaker, on such an occasion, to enter into all the explanations which may seem desirable. I know that there are many intelligent men, and among them men of great moral worth, whose opinions and feelings are entitled to the highest respect, who complain of anti-slavery men, as they are termed, for not explaining more definitely

the terms they use; and also for an indiscriminate condemnation of slaveholders; while there are many among them who abhor slavery, and would gladly release their slaves did the laws of the land, and the good of the slaves permit them to do it. Whether this complaint is well founded, I will not say; that it is frequently uttered, I know.

Slavery, in this country, is that system of human bondage, which is upheld by a legal power, granted to an individual to purchase, raise, use and sell, his fellow creatures as property.

The conferring of such a power is virtually a denial of the established doctrine of human rights among civilized nations. It is a subversion of our Declaration of Independence. It is a nullification of the institution of marriage, and of the duties God has enjoined upon husband and wife, parent and child, by subjecting them to the entire control of the will of another.

It nullifies the commission of Christ to his ministers, 'Go ye into all the world, and preach the gospel to every creature,' by giving the master of slaves the power to exclude him from doing it orally or by letters. Such a system ought not to have an existence. Such a power over his fellows no community has a right to confer on one of its members.

When we speak of slavery as a sin, we ought to be understood to mean just such a system of servitude as this power is adapted to produce, and not that of which some slave is the subject, who has a master that treats him as a child, and is willing he should be free.

A slaveholder, in common parlance, means, and ought to be understood to mean, one who voluntarily assumes and exercises this power over others for the purpose for which it was bestowed,—that of holding their fellow men as property. Slaveholders are answerable for the evils of this system. It was established for their benefit. It is continued for their benefit. The laws that uphold it are nothing but an *expression of their will*. When that will is changed, slavery is virtually abolished. And when a majority of them regard slavery as a system of injustice, and repent of it, they will bring forth fruits meet for repentance, by blotting it from the statute book.

To apologize for slaveholding, by referring

to one who abhors the system, who is using all his influence in every proper way to abolish it, who is willing to emancipate his slaves, but who cannot dissolve the relation which the law has formed, is to divert the public mind from ordinary slaveholding and its sinfulness, and to fix it upon an excepted and special case. And many difficult questions may arise as to the duty of such a man. He is forbidden to teach his slaves to read. Ought he to obey or disobey? He is forbidden to emancipate on the soil, where are the attachments of his slaves, where they wish to dwell, and where he can look after them. Ought he to disregard the law; and if they are taken up and sold, to feel unanswerable for consequences? Or ought he to send them out of the state, or to Africa? Such cases, instead of leading us to apologize for slavery, should lead us to cry aloud against it. It shows what a tyrannical spirit it has, not to allow those who desire it to 'let the oppressed go free,' in the land that gave them birth, and where their kindred dwell.

It is proper to use the terms slavery, slaveholder, and slave, as expressive of something wrong, as much so as theft, thief, and stolen goods.

If a man is a slaveholder, it is *prima facie* evidence of guilt; and it belongs to him, and not to others, to show his innocence by his actions, as much as he who is in possession of the property of another, when he has found the rightful owner.

To compare the subjection of children and minors to their parents and guardians, to that of slaves to their masters, and to talk of slavery as not *malum in se*, but *malum in consequentia*, is to blind rather than to enlighten the public mind. It is not proper to call children and minors slaves, and their parents and guardians slaveholders, and their service slavery.

By immediate emancipation, I mean the immediate removal of this power given to individuals to hold men, women, and children, as property, and placing them at once, under a wise and humane system of laws, such as intelligent and virtuous legislators would deem best for such an ignorant and degraded population, were they their own descendants, whom it was their duty to elevate to the rank of enlightened and useful citizens. Let such a *heart* exist in the bosom

of the majority of the slaveholders of any state or nation, and I venture to assert slavery would be abolished as soon as they could meet to perform the deed. When such a spirit shall animate the breasts of southern freemen, all fears arising from the danger of immediate emancipation will vanish. Those who should talk of its being more safe to deprive two millions and a half of their fellow-men of their unalienable rights, in such a country and such an age as this, than to treat them as brethren, entitled to the same privileges with themselves, would be frowned upon as interested hypocrites, or pitied as weak-minded cowards. Such a notion is contrary to the philosophy of the human mind. As a general rule, love begets love, kindness produces kindness, and injustice produces a spirit of anger and revenge.

In asserting that slaveholders have no right to hold slaves as property, I would not be understood to say they may not have some claim, on principles of equity, upon those from whom they have purchased them, or from the state or nation, in case of immediate emancipation. That is a matter which I would leave to be settled by politicians. What I would contend for is, that God has not given to one man the right to hold the body and soul of his fellow-man as property, to be bought and sold at his pleasure; that it is the highest act of injustice; and that all the laws which uphold such a system are a violation of the royal law of doing to others as we would that they should do unto us. It is the duty of every man, therefore, to be willing that such a system of injustice should at once be abolished, although he should receive no indemnification for the loss he might sustain. The rightful owner claims his own property, and his first duty is to acknowledge the claim, and restore to him what is his own, *pre-eminently, his body and soul*. This doctrine is of great moment. It is a barbed arrow in the conscience of the slaveholder. So long as it is acknowledged that he has as equitable a title to his slave, as to his cattle and horses, he may condemn slavery as on the whole a great evil, but will justify himself in holding him as property until he is paid. 'Honor among thieves,' is a proverb to which I do not object. But if they would evince the genuineness of their repentance, let them restore to the rightful owner their ill-gotten goods, and then if

they can find all the partners in the concern, let them settle among themselves upon equitable terms, if they can, the gain or loss of the partnership. But let it not be forgotten that the slave has the first and highest claim to the use of his own body and mind, and to a full remuneration for all his past unrequited services from those to whom he has rendered them.

REMARKS OF REV. MR. BLAIN.

Rev. Mr. Blain of Pawtucket, R. I. next addressed the meeting. He said:

Without offering any definite resolution, Mr. President, I propose to consider the following proposition, viz: that Slavery is contrary to natural right.

Not only does our own Declaration of Independence affirm that all men are born free and equal, but God himself has declared that he has made of one blood all nations to dwell on the face of the earth. In the charter of our own rights as the people of these United States, we maintain that among the inalienable rights of all men, are life, *liberty*, and the pursuit of happiness. The heart of every man responds to this truth, and it is the very basis of all our political and social institutions. Now it is evident that a condition of slavery takes away all these inalienable rights. It will not be denied that the negro is a man; and there are twelve of the United States, who have adopted this solemn recognition of the inalienable right of liberty in all men, and yet they hold men in abject bondage. In twelve of these United States, men, women and children, are bought and sold and driven away like cattle. In different parts of the United States are found establishments which are markets for the purchase and sale of human beings. Even in the city of Washington, under the eye and the sole control of Congress, these slave markets are suffered to carry on their business in human blood and sinews. The newspapers of the country are filled with advertisements for the purchase and sale of men, women and children. A Mr. Collier published in a newspaper in Richmond, Va. that he will at all times pay a fair price for likely young negroes; that he has a house fitted for the purpose, with a *prison* to keep them secure. And he adds, 'I keep constantly on hand a large number of likely

young negroes, and now have one hundred boys, young men and girls, which I will sell in lots to suit purchasers!'

Suppose we were to see such an advertisement in New-England, and a man should keep in prison and sell boys, young men and girls, at auction or otherwise, what should we think of such a business, and how long would it be permitted? But would it be any more of an infringement on the inalienable rights of man, to sell boys and girls in New-England, than it is to sell them in Virginia? Where is the difference as to the abstract right between selling white boys and girls, or colored boys and girls?

There are three jails in the city of Washington, and when they are full, the United States prison, which cost ten thousand dollars of the money of the people of this whole nation, is prostituted for a prison to confine innocent men and women, who are kept there, until they can be sold or driven off to another market. The traveller may go to the Capitol of this free republic, and there see the splendid pile, with its majestic dome, erected for the legislature of the country. He may hear the members discourse eloquently of *liberty*, and the *inalienable rights of man*; and within sight of that building over which waves the American eagle, he may see the flag that is put out to signify that human beings are to be sold to the highest bidder, and hear the cry of 'negroes for sale by action.' What! men and women and children, to be sold like cattle, in the very spot where the American eagle waves triumphant over the heads of the Legislators of ten millions of *freemen*? Yes, Sir; slaves are bought and sold there, men and women, boys and girls, horses and cattle, goods and chattels, all put up and knocked off under the same hammer, which falls, as regardless of the ties it severs between parent and child, husband and wife, as though it were merely dividing a quantity of goods into different lots to suit purchasers! The frantic mother may cling to her child, the helpless sister to her brother, the distracted wife to her husband, but all in vain; at the snap of the whip they are driven off in different directions, by different purchasers, never to meet again. It is estimated that about 60,000 human beings are sold annually in this manner from the Northern slaveholding States, and sent off to Louisiana and the

new States. This traffic will be increased, as the demand for slave labor increases with the increase of population in the new States, and at least 100,000 souls are to be annually sold into hopeless slavery, in this domestic traffic in the slave trade, and driven off to the South and West.

We are not talking, Sir, of things beyond the moon, but of *facts*, here within our own knowledge. At this moment, while I am talking, men and women are imprisoned in the District of Columbia, to be taken out and sold, and driven to the New Orleans market. And yet we boast of *liberty*, though not a man is found who dares to raise his voice in the Congress of the nation, against this abominable traffic, over which, within that District, the laws of the United States have entire control. There is no Wilberforce there, no fearless friend of the rights of man, who will come forward boldly, to abolish this traffic. It is only the negro who suffers, say they, and the negro cannot feel. Besides, we can keep him better as a slave, than he could keep himself as a freeman. This is the sophistry that soothes conscience to sleep.

What was the oppression of our fathers, which drove them to seek their freedom at the cost of life and fortune? They were not bought and sold, but they were taxed without their consent; and what did they do? They armed themselves, and went forth to the battle. They fought for seven years, because they would not be taxed against their consent. For this they were called patriots, brave men, noble spirited, who would not be oppressed. Now here are two millions of our fellow men, a thousand times more oppressed than our fathers were. We come forward and pray to have them delivered from oppression, and restored to freedom. Do we appeal to the sword? No! To resistance and force? No. We wish to have it all done by *moral suasion alone*. We deprecate violence; we exhort those who are in bondage to be kind and submissive to their masters, to yield obedience in patience and long suffering, till the day of their deliverance shall come, by the force of truth alone operating upon the hearts of men. We wish to present the sin of slavery in its odious colors, and we wish, in the spirit of the gospel, to persuade the slaveholders of the United States, that it is their duty as

well as lasting interest, to give up slavery. We wish not to have the slaves turned loose without restraint, or driven away out of the country, but that they shall have the liberty of the law, and the protection of the law, as men and human beings.

This is all the friends of Anti-Slavery are striving to bring about, by peaceable and lawful means—but while we are meekly pleading for the freedom of the slave, on the pure doctrines of the gospel and the immutable and constitutional principles of eternal right and justice between man and man, what are we called for so doing? Our fathers were called brave men and patriots for vindicating liberty and the rights of man, at the point of the sword. We ask the oppressor to let the oppressed go free, and approach him only with argument and appeals to his heart, his understanding, and his interest—and we are denounced for it as cut-throats, villains, traitors and mad fanatics. Well, let them call us so. Such reproaches reach not a conscience void of offence before God and man; and let it be our endeavor always to remember and follow the example of Him who went about doing good, and who, when reviled, reviled not again. We must expect to encounter this feeling of opposition, when we encounter slavery; for such is the nature of that odious vice, and such its long continued and indurating influence upon the heart of man, that it stifles humanity and calls up all the malignant passions of our nature. I could tell facts that would show in glaring colors, the terrific influence of slavery, in hardening the heart, and corrupting all moral sensibility. The very nature of the punishments inflicted by the laws of enlightened States, upon their slaves, is sufficient proof of the tendency of slavery to harden the heart. In vain does your Constitution declare that no cruel or unusual punishment shall be inflicted. This too, is a mockery to the slave, as well as the declaration that all men are born free and equal.

There are fifteen kinds of cruel punishments provided for the slave. Among these is whipping, in a variety of forms. Persons are employed at the jails or other places, who are paid so much a dozen or hundred for lashing slaves. They are tied by their thumbs, and raised with a cord so as just to touch the ground, and in that condition, entirely naked, the lash is applied to their

whole bodies. At other times they are thrown on the ground, and lacerated, every blow of the whip being followed by blood. Sometimes they are tied up by the head, and a rail passed through the legs to extend the body in a situation to receive the lash with the most excruciating pain. The slave who commits a crime, is not punished in the forms provided by law for the white man, but is often burnt at the stake, or beheaded, or seared with hot irons. They are not only thrown into the public jails, but are shut up in private dungeons, and life barely sustained by the scantiest food. In a recent case in New-Orleans, where a house took fire, the people found numbers of slaves, imprisoned in one of the rooms, in a most wretched condition, with gashes cut to the bone, by the ropes with which they had been tied. One poor wretch was found so lacerated, that living creatures were feeding on him. And all this horrid cruelty upon human beings, was inflicted by a fiend in the shape of a woman, who was the owner of the slaves, and who insisted upon her right to punish her slaves as she pleased, and claimed the protection of the laws of Louisiana, for what she had done. I rejoice to add, Mr. President, that a feeling of indignation was raised among the people of New-Orleans, at the discovery of this abominable iniquity, which shows that though the laws sanction such cruelty to the slave, the public sentiment even at the South condemns it, and thereby proves that the laws are more cruel and unjust than the slave masters.

This case at New-Orleans is by no means a solitary instance of cruelty to slaves. Take a few cases in other states, of the truth of which there can be no doubt. A female slave was sent on an errand, and was gone longer than her master wished. She was ordered to be flogged, and was tied up and nearly beaten to death. While the overseer was whipping her, in the presence of her master, she said that she had been prevented returning sooner by sickness on the way. Her enraged master ordered her to be whipped again for daring to speak, and the lash was again applied, until she expired under the operation. Nor was her life alone sacrificed. An unborn infant died with her, which had been the cause of her delay on her master's errand.

Another case occurred, where a black boy

was whipped for stealing a piece of leather, and because he persisted in denying it, he was whipped till he died. After he was dead, his master's son acknowledged that he took the piece of leather.

A Georgian bought five slaves and set them a task in the field, which they could not or would not do. The next day he added another task, with orders that they should do that and the work of the preceding day, or be whipped until they accomplished it. The third day more work was added and additional whipping ordered. The work was now beyond the strength of the slaves. They tried in vain to accomplish it, and at last left it in despair, and went into the woods. They were missed, and pursuit made after them, and were all found hanging dead. They had committed suicide to escape the cruelty of their master. A hole was dug, and they were thrown into it, amidst the curses of their owner at the loss he had met with in his property.

Mr. President, I do not relate these facts to reproach any man, or to harrow up the feelings unnecessarily. I know there are many exceptions to this sort of cruelty to slaves, and that many of them are treated with kindness; but the facts I have related are the legitimate consequences of slavery, which are every day flowing from that corrupt fountain in every part of our land, where this sin exists. And shall the christian and the philanthropist be silent, while such abominations are tolerated among us? We are pleading for the Indian of our own country, for the heathen of Burmah, for Sunday schools and for the Bible cause, and shall we not plead the cause of two millions of our fellow men, who are not only the victims of barbarous laws, but are deprived of the light of instruction, and the teachings of the gospel? Can it be possible, Sir, that in this land of light there are laws against teaching men, women and children to read? It is even so. In Louisiana, fine and imprisonment is the punishment, by law, for the first offence, if any one is detected in teaching a slave to read the Bible! and for the second offence, the person so convicted is hung!! Fined and imprisoned in this land of knowledge and liberty, and for what, Sir? For the crime of teaching men to read! Nay, more; hung up like pirates and murderers, and for what? For trying a second

time, to open the way of life and salvation to the benighted slave, by teaching him to read the Bible!

We appeal to christian men and to citizens of a free country, if this is not a stain upon us as a nation that ought to be removed? We appeal to men who are themselves free, to make the slave also free, that our whole country may enjoy what our Declaration of Independence declares all ought to enjoy, life, *liberty*, and the pursuit of happiness. We are too near the judgment-day, not to fear lest the cries of the oppressed should go up to the judgment-seat before us, and prepare an awful retribution for our sins! the sin of slavery! the sin of this whole nation. The command of God is growing louder and stronger, and is every day enforced more and more on the conscience of the slaveholder—**BREAK THE YOKE OF THE OPPRESSOR, AND LET THE OPPRESSED GO FREE!**

[MR. JAMES THOME, of Kentucky, a student of the Lane Seminary, Ohio, and the heir of a slave property in his native State, closed the discussion of this evening, with an eloquent address, delivered with the grace of oratory and all the force of truth. He described the demoralizing and debasing influences of slavery, particularly upon the families and children of slaveholders, and gave his testimony, the result of residence from his infancy in a slave State, in favor of the principles of Anti-Slavery, as the only mode in which the consciences of the slaveholders could be reached, and slavery be finally abolished. This address was delivered by Mr. Thome, substantially, before the Anti-Slavery Society in New-York, and has been published in a pamphlet. It is therefore omitted here. It was listened to by the numerous audience, with deep attention.

After Mr. Thome had concluded his remarks, the whole congregation sang with an impressive effect, in the tune of Old Hundred, that sublime hymn—

' Be thou O God, exalted high ;
And as thy glory fills the sky,
So let it be on earth displayed,
Till thou art here as there obeyed.'

The Choir of colored children then sung a hymn, and the Convention was dissolved, all its meetings, though fully attended, having been conducted with the utmost propriety and good order.]

ADDRESS TO THE PEOPLE OF THE UNITED STATES.

With all the deference which is due from individuals to society, to the great union of free and intelligent beings on whose sympathy, respect and protection they depend; with all the confidence inspired by the defence of a cause which requires for its complete success, nothing but an impartial hearing; with all the fervent hope, all the fearful solicitude for the destinies of mankind, wrapt up in the fate of this country, we, the humble and devoted advocates of the oppressed, address you, our fellow-citizens, in behalf of more than two millions of men, our countrymen, whom we, the people of these United States, have doomed to absolute and perpetual bondage.

What is the burthen of our address,—the object of our petition? Is it to provoke or offend—is it to wrong, or to desire to wrong our neighbor—is it to slander—is it to set ourselves up above others, as if we were better than they—is it to disturb the peace, or to loosen or to dissolve the Union—is it to promote divisions and to stimulate our different classes to discord—the North against the South—the East against the West—the enslaved American against the free American—or the colored man against the white? No—It is none of these.

It is our object, in the first place, to set before you the nature and consequences of slavery; not in order to convince you that slavery is an immeasurable evil, for this would be as useless as to attempt to persuade you that liberty is an inestimable good. But we wish to impress you with the idea that we cannot hold this simple and incontestable truth with impunity, that we drink the cup of freedom to our own condemnation, unless we are willing to confess and repair our wrongs—unless we resolve to *act* in obedience to the law of liberty which we have proclaimed, and by which we must be judged.

Every Fourth of July is to us a day of exultation for what we have done, and a day of humiliation for what we have left undone. The Declaration of Independence which is read throughout our land, bears record to our glory, our shame, our inconsistency. It proves the unlawfulness of the government established over the slave, in the same terms in which it justifies the self-government of

the free. For it asserts that all government among men derives its just powers from the *consent of the governed*; that it is instituted to secure the *inalienable rights* of life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness, with which all men are endowed *equally* by their *Creator*.

These self-evident truths, set forth in that document of philanthropic wisdom and heroism, are borne out by the testimony of inspiration. Let us place side by side the law of the white man, concerning his colored fellow-man, and the law of God, concerning all his children.

God said, 'Let us make man in our image, after our likeness.' Negro slavery denies God in man; the children do not recognise their Father's likeness, because it has pleased Him to set it in a dark frame.

The Son of God says, 'Be not ye called masters; for one is your master; one is your Father; and all ye are brethren.' This universal brotherhood, established by the God of nature, the Father of spirits, has it induced the white man, the professed Christian, to see in his colored fellow-man, a child of God, to be respected and loved by him as he respects and loves himself? Look at the history of negro slavery. All its authentic records, all its unpublished volumes may be summed up in one sentence. The white man, the professed Christian, has treated his brother, the colored man, first, as a beast of prey, and then as a beast of burthen and of draught.

The Son of man farther says, 'Whatsoever ye would that men should do to you, do ye even so to them.' And, 'with what judgment ye judge, ye shall be judged; and with what measure ye mete, it shall be measured to you again.' To do unto others as we would have them do unto us—if this be the great law of justice by which we shall be judged—what must we think, we do not say of the *men*, for we would not interfere between them and their own consciences—but what must we think of the *laws* of our slaveholding states and territories, which the white inhabitants have made, and which the whole country has sanctioned? The law secures to the white man, the poorest as well as the richest, whatever property he inherits, or gains by his own industry, or by exchange with others. The earnings of the slave, the fruits of his life-wasting industry, are not

his own; he inherits nothing but slavery, he bequeaths nothing but slavery; he himself is the product of slave-breeding industry, a marketable and hereditary commodity. Is this doing unto others as we would have them do unto us? The ties of domestic affection, the covenant of nature which binds to each other husband and wife, parent and child, brother and sister, are acknowledged by public opinion, by the enlightened sentiment of mankind, as the highest incentives to individual industry, the richest source of social enjoyment, the main support of order, mutual good will, and improvement in society. The voice of nature and of reason has sanctioned the privacy of domestic life, and has placed the law of the land like a cherub with a flaming sword before the garden of life. But the law of the land which declares the house of the white man his 'castle,' and guards it against the threats of intruders by imprisonment and death—the same law, like a faithless sentinel, admits to the unguarded dwelling of the colored man, every selfish and brutal passion, if it bears the color of legalized oppression; it licenses the profanation of all that is sacred and dear to the wretched victim of avarice and prejudice. Though conjugal fidelity, parental and filial affection and brotherly love be all placed in one scale, yet the market price in the other, seldom, if ever, fails to kick the beam. Is this doing unto others as we would have them do unto us? All civil and political power is in the hands of the white man,—the colored man has none. He is compelled to live under rulers in whose election he has no voice—under laws in whose enactment he is permitted to take no part—and under the verdict and judgment of courts which are constituted wholly by others, and where he is not allowed to defend himself by his own oath, or that of those of his own color. Is this doing unto others as we would have them do unto us?

The foundation of all rights, the right of personal independence and self-ownership, by which every human being is invested with the free use and disposal of his own body and his own soul, is denied to the slave. Resistance against violence, the natural right of self-defence, the right of the husband, and the father to protect the virtue of his wife and child—if it be exercised by the colored man against the white, is deemed wor-

thy of death. The right and duty of every human being to improve his mind, for which schools and associations for the advancement and diffusion of knowledge are established throughout our land, the cultivation of the intellectual nature of man, is secured only to the free man. The simple art of reading, which enables every one to appropriate to himself what other men have done for the elevation and happiness of mankind, is withheld from the slave. The law in some parts of our country threatens death, even to the master himself, who should persist in teaching his slave to read. The safety of the slave State is thought to require this prohibition; the knowledge of the alphabet might enable the slave to find out from the Declaration of American Independence, and from the word of God, that, by Divine right, and by the fundamental law of this country, every man is a freeman. If, indeed, the master should give his consent, which he may refuse or retract at any time, that christianity should be taught to the slave, it is only *such* christianity, rather such a religion, as is consistent with slavery. Is this doing unto others as we would have them do unto us? The only case of importance in which the law acknowledges a crime committed against a slave as a crime, and threatens punishment to the offender, the case of murder, affords but feeble protection to the life of the slave. The law enables the master to free himself from punishment by shewing that the slave came to his death in consequence of moderate castigation. Nay, the law secures impunity to the offender in almost every case of offence committed by a white against a colored man, by *rejecting black testimony against white crime*.

If doing unto others as we would be done by, is indeed the eternal standard of natural justice between man and man, what right have we, the freemen of this country, to our property, our families, our political privileges, to the possession of our own bodies and souls, while we persevere in denying the same privileges and blessings to our colored fellow-men? In strict justice, he who strips his unoffending fellow-man of his natural and civil rights, forfeits his own.

Enough has been said on the simple truth that slavery is in itself unjust, that it is a crime against human nature, a moral impossibility. That the effects of slavery are no

better than the cause, would be readily believed on supposition, even if experience and history did not supersede all speculation on this subject.

The evil consequences of slavery have been most deeply felt and forcibly set forth by slaveholders themselves. Its influence on the various branches of industry, particularly on agriculture and manufactures, is plainly delineated on the face of our country. The condition of our slaveholding states compared with that of the free, the contrast between the two great states on the banks of the Ohio, and between the western and eastern portion of Virginia—are facts too obvious and conclusive to require an elaborate treatise on the comparative advantages of free and slave labor.

And what are the natural effects of slavery on the mind and disposition of the master and the slave? A restless dissatisfaction, or a brutal contentment with his lot, aversion to all labor, because he labors not from the hope of a just reward, but from the dread of punishment at the hand of arbitrary power, addictedness to low and sensual enjoyments because others are withheld, these are some of the natural effects of slavery on the slave. On the other hand, constant fear of insurrection, disdain of useful labor as associated with the condition of slavery, love of power nourished in the master from infancy, with freedom to gratify all his passions and whims in relation to his unprotected slaves—is it probable that these circumstances should be favorable to the growth of private virtue, or of true republicanism? For, true republicanism does not consist in maintaining equality of rights among oppressors, but in honoring all men as equals in all their natural and inalienable rights.

When we say that freedom has a salutary, and slavery a hurtful influence on the mind and disposition both of the master and the slave, we mean that this is the natural result of that unnatural relation. Among the innumerable cases which have been brought forward in confirmation of this truth, there are undoubtedly some which have been exaggerated, if not invented, by those who have published them. But if we confine ourselves only to the official and authentic accounts of slavery, and its offspring the foreign and domestic slave trade, there is enough to rouse every dormant feeling of humanity, and in-

spire the most timid and indifferent to active and enterprising benevolence. It is true there are virtues, such as frankness and generosity, which are found among slaveholders as well as among consistent freemen; and we rejoice to acknowledge them in our southern brethren, without entering into an invidious inquiry concerning the comparative difficulty of practising the virtue of generosity in different portions of our country. It is upon the belief in the existence of those generous sentiments, that the friends of abolition rest much of their confident hope that the slaveholders of the South will take this great work into their own hands, and force an acknowledgment of their magnanimous love of liberty not only from their rivals at the North, but from the forsaken slave. On the other hand, we rejoice that there are many instances to prove that the state of degradation imposed upon the slave has not obliterated every feature of the divine image. That the spirit of man, however darkened, is not extinct in the slave, is evident from the occasional wild eruptions of the smothered fire of indignation and resentment, as well as from the striking instances of that fidelity, which is the moral support of an immoral power, and which has often saved the unsuspecting master from the fury of the revolting slaves. The same truth is confirmed by numerous instances of voluntary death preferred to a life of bondage, and by the still more cheering and elevating example of those who after having worked out their own freedom, have not ceased to toil and to starve until they have redeemed their friends from servitude.

Whether the slaves are treated well or ill, whether they are contented or not, these are circumstances which do not affect the duty of emancipation. The very existence of laws against runaway slaves would be sufficient to prove that many of them, surely, are not contented. We have no right to assert that the slave is happy, in a condition the least particle of which, if it were imposed upon us, would be resisted unto blood, until we have offered to him freedom. We mean freedom in good faith; not the pitiful and precarious allowance of human rights that is settled upon the unenslaved man of color in most parts of our country: but liberty such as we have it, other than which we ought to be ashamed to offer. The state of ignorance

in which we have placed him may indeed render it inexpedient to call the slave to an immediate and unlimited exercise of every privilege. Yet we certainly are not justified in asserting that the slave is content with his present lot, until we have offered to him the immediate enjoyment of all those rights for the possession of which he is now qualified, together with the means to fit himself as soon as possible, for the exercise of every privilege enjoyed by the white freeman.

But suppose it true what has been asserted, that the vast majority are contented and happy—*this* contentment and happiness should be considered not as the best, but as the very worst and most deplorable effect of slavery. If human beings, stripped of all the rights and attributes of humanity, are contented and happy, it is a proof that the hierarchy of nature which has placed man, the moral agent, at the head of all living creatures, is broken, that the animal has survived his spiritual nature. If it be true then, that the slave is fallen so low as to rest satisfied with his own degradation, and forget that he is a man, then slavery has indeed done its worst on him, and it becomes our most sacred duty to break the spell that has converted human beings into brutes.

Many objections to the immediate abolition of slavery have been brought forward, which, like the one already mentioned, the alleged contentment of the slaves, only require a fair and thorough examination, to be defeated or converted into auxiliary arguments for emancipation. It has been said, the slaves are not prepared for liberty. But it is clear that the first step toward civilizing and christianizing the negro is to acknowledge that he is a man, whose confidence we have to gain by confessing that we have wronged him, and endeavoring to repair the injury by abandoning forever the inhuman principle that man can hold property in man. It has been said that the slaves, if suddenly emancipated, would use their liberty for avenging their past sufferings upon the masters. But it would be strange indeed, if the standing army and the militia, the whole power of this country which has hitherto secured the unrighteous authority of the master over the slave, should not be able to uphold the rightful dominion of the law over the freeman. It seems stranger still to suppose that by an unaccountable perversion of

the most natural feelings, the colored man who has no cause for hatred and desire of revenge against the white man, except the fact that he holds him in slavery, should hate, and desire to revenge himself upon him, for restoring him to liberty. Whatever strange kind of speculation may lead men to expect that love should beget hatred, this surely is not the logic of the human heart.

The history of the past as well as the experience of our days, does not record one instance in which the immediate abolition of slavery has stirred up the freed man to violence, outrage, and war. Within the remembrance of this generation, slavery has been abolished in St. Domingo, in the republics of South America, and recently throughout the vast empire of Great Britain. Different modes and forms of emancipation have been tried. In some cases the enjoyment of perfect liberty on the part of the slaves has been preceded by an apprenticeship, in others full liberty has been granted at once; in some instances portions of land have been allotted to the negroes; in others they have been left without any means of support but their personal liberty; in others a part of the produce, or certain days in the week, have been secured to the free laborers remaining on the plantations. In all these instances, in which a whole state has abolished slavery, and in many others in which the comparative value of free and of slave labor has been tried on a smaller scale, the safety and superior advantages of immediate abolition have been fully established. Great light has been shed on this subject by the Report of the Committee appointed by the House of Commons, on the extinction of Slavery in Great Britain. The confident anticipations of many of the witnesses who were examined by the Committee as to the safety and desirableness of that great national measure, for both masters and slaves, have already been verified so far as the short time that has elapsed since the actual enfranchisement of the British West Indies has enabled us to judge of the results of this great measure. Already several islands have petitioned the government and have obtained permission to substitute full and immediate abolition, for the system of apprenticeship, which had been devised as an intermediate step from servitude to freedom, because it soon became evident that the full advantages of a free labor system cannot be realized by any scheme of demi-servitude.

A thorough investigation of the much disfigured history of St. Domingo, which has been so often held out as a fearful warning against all attempts at immediate abolition, bears the most decided testimony to the safety of this philanthropic measure. Indeed, the history of Hayti speaks more strongly in favor of this cause, than the most sanguine abolitionist could have expected. For it is proved by competent eye witnesses,* that after the fearful contest which raged in that island from 1791 to 1793, and which from a civil soon became a servile war, and ended in a complete abolition of slavery, the slaves as soon as they were declared freemen, instead of trying to avenge the cruelties they had suffered, quietly returned to their plantations. There they continued to work as free laborers for a fourth part of the produce, besides having two days in the week entirely to themselves. And this cultivation of the land on shares proved so successful that the island was fast advancing toward its former prosperity, when in 1801, Buonaparte conceived the inhuman and insane plan of reducing the enfranchised islands again to slavery.

In Guadeloupe, which had been quiet and prosperous in her freedom as St. Domingo was, the ruthless conqueror succeeded in restoring slavery after the most fearful and bloody resistance. But he failed in St. Domingo. And if we would rightly estimate the result of this great struggle from servitude, discord, and anarchy, to liberty, law, and union, we must consider that during the continued warfare which did not wholly cease until 1800, the whole island became one republic, the arts and habits of peace were almost entirely abandoned, and the expensive works for cultivating the land on which the amount of exportable property greatly depends, were destroyed. We must consider also that the natural disposition of the people inclines them to secure by moderate labor the necessaries and comforts which the cultivation of a rich soil easily affords, rather than to strive and toil for wealth, and commercial eminence. Again we must consider that the industry of that island is kept down by the support of a large standing army to prevent invasion, and by an enormous nation-

* See particularly the French works of La Croix and Malenfant.

al debt to France. Under all these circumstances which have necessarily reduced the produce, the exports and imports of St. Domingo, and affected the character of its inhabitants, if we consider that the population which in 1804 amounted to about 400,000, had increased, according to the official census in 1824, to 935,325, and if we look upon the amount of freedom, security, and prosperity enjoyed in that island—we cannot help seeing in the whole unprecedented history of St. Domingo, a most satisfactory evidence of the safety and expediency of immediate abolition, even under the most unfavorable circumstances.

That the Africans will not work from any better impulse than the cart-whip, is an assertion so often refuted, that it is not worth while to dwell upon it. It is indeed not improbable that the long continuance of slavery, has degraded many so deeply as to require some impulses besides those of self-interest, honor, and family attachment, to stimulate them to honest industry; some legal restraints to prevent those who by a sudden act of abolition are made masters of their time, from abusing it to the injury of others as well as themselves. Laws may be necessary like those existing in Hayti, which compel idlers and vagabonds, all those who cannot show that they possess the means of an honest subsistence, to cultivate the earth for their living; as in many parts of our country also, paupers are compelled to labor for the sustenance provided for them by the community. But the practical importance of these laws will continually decrease, as the natural effects of freedom supplant the artificial resorts of slavery.

The loss of property growing out of immediate emancipation, has been urged as another objection to this measure. The general ground of this question, the comparative advantages of free and slave labor, have been so clearly demonstrated by scientific and experimental investigation, that few, if any, remarks are required on this subject. It would seem superfluous to prove in detail, that the master, the planter in particular, must be benefitted by the exchange of a slave-labor for a free-labor system. It frees him from the necessity of purchasing cultivators for his land, the price of which must rise in proportion to what he saves by not being obliged to buy *men*, in addition; he is

not at the risk of losing part of his capital by the sickness, or death, or escape of his slaves; he has not to provide for the sick, the children, the aged, except so far they may have to be taken care of by the community. Instead of depending on laborers, whose interest it is to do no more work than the fear of the whip can induce them to perform, and to pass themselves off for being as unprofitable as possible, the employer of free labor has the choice of laborers, whose interest, whose heart and will are in their business, and whose reputation for efficient usefulness is at stake. Instead of finding it for his advantage to debar his slave from all knowledge, save what concerns him as a domesticated animal; instead of doing violence to his own nature by degrading that of his slave, the master or employer will be prompted both by his earthly and his spiritual interests, to promote the intelligence, the self-respect, the love of truth and justice, the religious principle in the free laborer.

These considerations are sufficient to show that universal and immediate emancipation must, in general, prove eminently beneficial, both to the slaveholder and the slave. Cases of individual suffering which are incidental to every general plan of reform will be easily remedied. But although the economical advantages of this reform are evident, it should never be overlooked that Justice demands the immediate abolition of slavery, whether it be for the advantage or disadvantage of the slaveholder. Instant and persevering exertion to remove from the present, and to avert from every future generation, the crime and the misery of oppression, is all that we can do to atone for the past, and to wipe off a part of that fearful reckoning, which awaits us all at the bar of eternal justice.

There is one more objection to the promotion of anti-slavery principles, which operates as a powerful check upon many of our fellow-citizens; although we confidently believe that if they would subject it to a thorough examination, they would see in this very objection the strongest argument for promoting the abolition of slavery in our country. It is said that the Constitution and the Laws of the Union acknowledge and secure the existence of slavery in every State in which it is not prohibited by the State itself, as well as in the District of Co-

Dumbia, and in several of the Territories. Hence, it is argued, that the agitation of this question in the free States, is an improper and dangerous interference.

It is true indeed, that the constitution as it is generally understood, though it nowhere speaks of slavery, is made to read so as to secure a power which, according to the principles of the Declaration of Independence, cannot be rendered just, by any decree or act of government. It is true, that the slave escaping from bondage in one State, finds in every other, even in those States in which slavery is by law prohibited, a powerful coadjutor of his master, in every judge or competent magistrate of the Union, who is obliged to deliver him up to the pursuing owner, however his own conscience may revolt against this official support of legal tyranny. It is true, moreover, that a standing army is kept and paid by these United States, chiefly for the protection of that special branch of industry in one part of our country which is proscribed in every other. It is true, that in case the slaves should assert and insist upon the rights solemnly ascribed to them, in common with all other men, by the Declaration of our Independence, not only the army, but, in case the army should prove insufficient, the militia, the whole people of these United States, are bound by law to assemble under the very banners under which they once achieved liberty for themselves, to put to the sword men who dare to claim the same inalienable rights. It is true, that a bargain, agreed to by the free states, entitles the slaveholders to send, in addition to the representatives to which their own number entitles them, twenty-five others to represent a portion of their population, which by their own laws are accounted a part of the *live stock*, together with horses and cattle. It is true, that in some of the Territories as well as in the District of Columbia, over which Congress has an absolute and exclusive right of legislation, slavery has a legal national existence and support. It is true, in fine, that Congress, being invested with constitutional power 'to regulate commerce with foreign nations and among the several states,' although it has branded as piracy the foreign slave trade, still tolerates the domestic traffic in human beings, which is characterized by the essential attributes of the middle passage. By means of this traffic, the produce of the

slave-breeding is conveyed to the slave-consuming states, and the various wants of the slaveholding community are continually supplied. Nay, the seat of Congress, the capital of the United States, is the centre, the very heart of this traffic, drawing fresh supplies from different quarters, and sending them to every part, to nourish and support the system.

The fact then on which the forementioned objection to anti-slavery movements is grounded, is incontestable. It is true that slavery, as it exists in our country, is supported by law, and by the constitution as it is generally understood. But can this be considered as a reasonable objection? Ought it not to be to us the most powerful inducement, to use every means which the constitution has left us, to remove this fatal inconsistency with the vital principle of our social institutions?

It is not our object now to enquire whether a law can be deemed valid, if it is contrary to the first principles of natural justice, contrary to the inalienable rights of man, particularly when these principles and rights are solemnly acknowledged by the sovereign will of the people as the supreme standard and test of the validity of any law. We only ask the people of the United States to consider what bearing that clause in the constitution which authorizes slavery, has upon the Declaration of Independence. The words of the only article which is understood as securing the claims of the slave-owner (Art. IV. Sec. III. 3.) are these: 'No person held to service or labor in one state under the laws thereof, escaping into another, shall, in consequence of any law or regulation therein, be discharged from such service or labor, but shall be delivered up on claim of the party to whom such service or labor may be due.' Now it is evident that these words of the Constitution are not inconsistent with the acknowledgment of the inalienable rights of man, in the Declaration of Independence, if they are understood as having reference to such service or labor as may be due from one person to another, on any sufficient legal ground, except slavery. They are inconsistent with the Declaration of Independence only, if they be understood as applying to slave labor and involuntary servitude, as well as to free labor and hired services.—Suppose we had no other knowledge of the actual

intention of the framers of the Constitution, than the words of the law itself, would it not become a subject of grave consideration, whether the common understanding of that article in the Constitution, according to which, a slave escaping into a state whose laws do not acknowledge slavery, is delivered up to the pursuing master, is not inconsistent with *correct* principles of legal interpretation? Even if we do not look upon the Declaration of Independence as the acknowledged standard and test of the validity of any law; even if we consider the Constitution simply in the light of a more recent law, which, on this account, ought to take precedence of the Declaration of Independence in any point in which they are decidedly at variance; yet it is an undoubted principle of legal interpretation, that whenever there is an apparent collision between two laws, the later of the two ought to be interpreted *strictly*; that is, if the words admit of a wider and of a stricter acceptance, they should be taken in that sense in which they are not at all, or in which they are least inconsistent, with the principles contained in a previous law. Now it is certain that the words of the Constitution in the article alluded to, have and always will have an exact practical meaning, whether slavery is continued or abolished in this country, since in their widest acceptance, they secure the claims both of the slaveholder, and of the employer of a freeman, or master of an apprentice. It is evident, moreover, that if taken in their widest sense, they are opposed to the Declaration of Independence, inasmuch as they are understood to secure the right of property in man. It seems, therefore, more conformable to correct principles of legal interpretation, to understand them in that stricter sense, in which they do now and always will secure the right of the employer to the *hired* services of the laborer, and particularly that of the master to the services of the apprentice. When thus understood, there is a propriety in using the words 'to whom such service or labor is *due*.' But to whom else is service or labor '*due*,' but the man who in some way *pays* for it? We, in fact, see no other alternative than either to adopt this stricter interpretation of the forementioned article of the Constitution, or to admit that the fundamental principles of the Declaration of Independence, which acknowledges the inalienable rights of man.

as the only just foundation of government, have been repealed by a single clause of the Constitution of the United States—a repeal which would amount to an abrogation of justice itself.

It may be said that these principles of legal interpretation, however just in other cases, are not applicable in this, as the forementioned article of the Constitution was certainly intended by its framers to secure, under terms of a more general import, the legal claim of the slaveholder; and that this has been acknowledged and acted upon as the true and practical sense of the law by all the courts and magistrates of the Union.—We would not interfere with the application of the law thus interpreted. We would rather forego any advantage that our cause might derive from a different interpretation, than in any way lessen the binding power of that solemn compact which binds together the several branches of this great family of republics. We would adopt ourselves, and urge others to adopt the sentiment of the Farewell Address of the Father of his country:—'The basis of our political system is the right of the people to make and alter their Constitution of government. But the Constitution which at any time exists, until changed by the whole people, is sacredly obligatory upon all.'

We acknowledge that there is sufficient reason to believe that the forementioned Article of the Constitution was designed to secure the legal claims of the slaveholder, as well as the master of an apprentice. But it seems as if its framers had couched their intention in such general terms, in order that the Article might remain applicable in case that slavery should be abolished in the different states. They seemed to be looking forward to a time, when the principles of the Declaration of Independence should have removed every species of government that is not derived from the consent of the governed, and has not for its object the establishment of the inalienable rights of man. To carry these principles into effect, the authors of the Declaration had pledged their 'sacred honor,'—a pledge which yet remains to be redeemed by their descendants.

The same spirit and prospective policy are manifest in the early history of congressional legislation: particularly in the ordinance for

the government of the great territory north-west of the Ohio, from which three states, Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois, have taken their origin. This Ordinance was passed in 1787, by the unanimous voice of all the States present at its passage, viz. Massachusetts, New-York, Pennsylvania, Delaware, Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, and Georgia. The six fundamental articles of this Ordinance, which still form the basis of the Territorial governments of the United States, were intended, according to the Preamble, 'for extending the fundamental principles of civil and religious liberty; to fix and establish those principles as the basis of all laws, constitutions, and governments, which forever hereafter shall be formed in said territory.' The sixth article declares, 'that there shall neither be slavery, nor involuntary servitude in the said Territory, otherwise than for the punishment of crimes, whereof the party shall become convicted.'

But unfortunately in some later acts of Congress, this great principle was lost sight of; and the slaveholding states have promoted opposite principles, in order to open new slave markets in the territories, and support their own system of policy by similar constitutions of the neighboring states.

But our belief does not rest on human legislation, or on the interpretation of any document of human device, however venerable. It is enough for our purpose that the constitution and the laws have left to us means to spread and to carry into effect the doctrine of human rights, of universal liberty. The law, at least in the free states, allows the use of all means, except those which our own conscience would forbid; the constitution of the New-England Anti-Slavery Society permits no others than such as are sanctioned by *law, humanity* and *religion*. It is enough that we have freedom to speak and to print; freedom peacefully to assemble, and associate, to consult, and to petition the government of the Union as well as the legislature of every state, and thus by individual and united exertion, to act upon the public mind. Thus armed with all the legitimate weapons of truth, we feel bound in conscience never to lay them down until the principle that man can hold property in man is effaced from our statute books, and held in abhorrence by public opinion. After the most careful examination, we are convinced

that slavery is unjust in itself, and cannot be justified by any laws or circumstances; that it wars against christianity, and is condemned by the Declaration of our Independence. We are convinced that it is injurious to every branch of industry, and more injurious still to the mind and character both of the master and the slave. Its existence is the chief cause of all our political dissensions; it tends to unsettle the groundwork of our government, so that every institution, founded on the common ground of our Union, is like an edifice on a volcanic soil, ever liable to have its foundation shaken, and the whole structure consumed by subterraneous fire. The danger of a servile and a civil war is gaining every year, every day; for the annual increase of the slave population is more than sixty thousand; and every day about two hundred children are born into slavery. As the more northern of the slave states, seeing the advantages of free labor, dispose of their slaves in a more southern market, and by degrees abolish servitude, the whole slave population, and with it the danger of a terrible revolution, are crowded together in the more southern states. Under all these threatening circumstances, what have the southern states, what has congress done, to avert the impending calamity from the Union? Congress, which has full and exclusive power to abolish slavery in the district of Columbia and in the Territories, and to abolish the domestic as well as the foreign slave trade shrinks from touching the subject. The fear of instant difficulties to be encountered overcomes the more patriotic fear of the ever increasing evils engendered by improvident delay, which reserves to our descendants, if we should escape them, the inevitable consequences of our own culpable neglect.

And what has been done in the slaveholding states to prepare the great change from a corrupt to a sound and vigorous state of society? There are indeed, benevolent individuals endeavoring to elevate their slaves by oral instruction, and by allowing them to cultivate portions of land for the joint profit of the master and the laborers. But the law and the general practice, so far from endeavoring to diminish, are calculated rather to increase the evil in order to render it more secure, to imbrute the slave more and more, and extinguish in him every aspiration

and pretension to be a man. Hence the laws against teaching a slave have become more numerous, and the penalties more severe, particularly in those states in which the colored population is continually gaining upon the white.* They refuse to free the slaves on the ground of their not being fitted for the proper use of freedom; and they refuse to prepare them for it, because the preparatory course would induce them to throw off the yoke instantly.

In this hopeless state of things, a few individuals, deeply impressed with the great and increasing evil of slavery, have thought it their duty to unite their efforts to undeceive the public mind, to rouse the fortunate heirs of freedom to a sense of their own obligation to extend and secure the blessings they possess. They saw that the most powerful men in the nation were inactive, either because the magnitude of the evil led them to doubt the possibility of finding an adequate remedy, or because they feared to disturb the political or commercial connections between the north and the south, or because they were prejudiced themselves, or thought it a hopeless attempt to conquer the prejudice of others. The disinterested devotion of the few who went forth to prepare the way for the gospel of universal freedom by teaching that slavery is a sin of which all the people of this country are more or less guilty, and ought immediately to repent and to reform—the generous efforts of a few ardent minds have kindled the philanthropic sympathies of many.

The hostility, and still more the indifference with which the sentiments of the first champions of immediate abolition were received by the majority of influential men in this country, may have betrayed some of them occasionally into unguarded and intemperate expressions. Still, the people at large begin to feel that the object as well as the motives of the friends of the oppressed are right; and as soon as the conviction of a good cause has once unsealed the deep fountains of the heart, and has engaged the energies of a free people, it is as vain to attempt to check or divert their onward course, as to coax or force Niagara to roll back its mighty waters from lake Ontario to Erie.

* Let it be remembered that those laws were enacted many years ago and before the Anti-Slavery Societies were thought of.

But the dissemination of Anti-Slavery sentiments, it is said, will be productive of a servile and civil war, and terminate in the dissolution of the Union. Now if there is anything in the theory of government that can be considered as an unquestionable truth, it is the principle that *free discussion* of every thing that concerns the constitution and government, is the indispensable condition, the conservative principle of every republic. The Constitution of our country has fully recognized this conservative principle, in ordaining that no law shall be enacted '*abridging the freedom of speech or of the press.*' And what more have abolitionists done, what else do they aim at, than *free discussion* of a part of our social system? To collect and to disseminate correct information, to argue, to answer objections, and to advise—these, and no other means, are authorised by the constitution of any Anti-Slavery Society in the United States. However strongly and urgently the sin and misery of servitude have been set forth in the writings that have appeared with the sanction of these Societies, yet they have never countenanced, but always most earnestly disapproved the use of force, and the desperate recourse to insurrection. They have appealed to the conscience and the self-interest both of the slaveholder and the slave; and on the ground of religion as well as worldly prudence, they have urged the masters to give up, of their own accord, their despotic power, and the slaves to be subject to their masters, with a religious trust that the voice of reason and christianity will ere long overcome the partiality of the law which makes the enjoyment of the rights of man to depend on the color of his skin. From the mouth of an abolitionist, the doctrine of subjection to his master is a solemn truth to the injured slave; and the words, Peace! Be still! when coming from the friend of freedom, are sufficient to assuage the wildest storm of revolutionary passion. From the mouth of an advocate or apologist of slavery, christianity itself, the gospel of eternal freedom and universal love, appears to the defrauded slave, only as a solemn pretext for oppression. Slavery is the true and lasting source of insurrection; it is the avowed or secret cause of all the serious differences between the members of this Union. Those, therefore, who directly or indirectly strive to secure the existence

of slavery in this country, are nourishing the seeds of a servile and civil war; and their efforts to avert it from themselves, only serve to insure its breaking in upon our descendants, with increased violence. The fact that in those States which depend most especially on slave labor, the colored population is continually gaining upon the white, is too obvious an indication of the future to require any explanation.

Some, indeed, have attempted to prove the security of our slave States, by quoting the experience of the States of antiquity, in some of which one fourth or fifth part of the population were able, for a considerable time, to keep the rest in bondage. But those who thus quote the example of the ancient world in order to quiet the apprehensions of the present, overlook the fact that in antiquity, slavery was a part of the law of nations, in the enforcement of which, each State was supported by the practice and political sympathy of every other. Not one of the ancient republics was founded, as ours is, on the solemn acknowledgment of the inalienable rights of man, with which the existence of slavery is absolutely inconsistent. All the nations around us, particularly those with whom we are most closely connected, our republican neighbors in South America, and England, from which we draw a constant supply of new ideas as well as articles of merchandize, have abolished slavery. Our own example, which has stirred up the nations to a determined search after liberty, reacts upon us; the reproachful feeling of our inconsistency is growing continually more general and intense, both abroad and at home. Thus all the circumstances and unavoidable influences under which we are placed, the spirit of our time manifested by its history, the growing conviction of the injustice and impolicy of this part of our social system, aggravated by the reproach of moral and political inconsistency, serve to impress us with the fallacy of every remedy for the evils and danger of slavery, except universal and immediate emancipation. There are dangers connected with any scheme of partial or gradual emancipation. For if you emancipate only a certain number, or declare that all shall be free after a certain time, the partial justice which you show to some, is an acknowledgment of the justice due to all, which cannot fail to rouse the in-

dignation of those whose rights have been set aside by this arbitrary arrangement. As soon, therefore, as the personal antipathies and prejudices which have arisen from a passionate and unsparing attack and defence of Anti-Slavery principles shall have given way before the power of free and calm inquiry, we feel confident that this great cause will unite all the friends of order, peace and union in our country.

Fellow-citizens! The subject of our appeal, if rightly understood, is not calculated to rouse the jealousies of one part of our country against the other. We have all sinned together, when tempted by the British government in our infancy. At years of discretion, when we became free, we deliberately preferred power to righteousness, and *made the crime our own*. In our vigor we have continued to cherish it. The South has said, 'Let slavery alone;' and the North has, till recently, replied, 'We will let slavery alone.' Nay, all the freemen of this country are pledged by laws of their own enacting, to support the slaveholder in trampling upon all the native rights of man, which we recognize as the foundation of our social institutions.

The fact that in almost every part of our country, the mere difference of color is sufficient to exclude the unenslaved colored man from public hotels, stage-coaches and steam-boats, from profitable and honorable professions, from public schools and colleges, from the elevating and refining influences of society,—these facts are strong indications that the confinement of slavery to a certain part of our country, is owing to a difference of circumstances rather than principles. We all have sinned against the *spirit*, if not against the letter, of the law of liberty; for every social system bearing the name of a republic, unless it is founded on a profound and impartial respect of human nature, and the essential equality of human rights, is but a more or less successful counterfeit of true republicanism. It may pass for sterling coin among those who have given it currency, but the world at large will not fail to detect the base alloy mixed up with the pure metal.

What is the duty of the freemen, and more particularly the duty of the citizens of the free states, with regard to the existence of slavery

in our country? It is our duty to use all our power and influence, individually and by association, directly and indirectly, to abolish a system that is absolutely inconsistent with the fundamental principle of our government, and must, sooner or later, if not removed, prove destructive of our Union. Congress has power to abolish slavery in the District of Columbia, and the Territories, as well as the domestic slave trade. We, the citizens of this country, have a right to petition Congress to use this power; we, the constituents of Congress, have power to direct our agents to execute what the sovereign will of the people shall deem conducive to the permanent welfare, the true glory of these United States. Every session of Congress, every opportunity of exercising our political privileges for the extinction of slavery, so far as its existence depends on our own will, is a trial of our love of justice, our patriotism, our philanthropy; every neglect is a proof of our unworthiness of the privileges we possess. The direct political power of the citizens of the free States over the existence of slavery in this country, is confined to the constitutional rights of Congress; but their moral influence, their duty as men, as patriots, as christians, have no limits but the free power of their fellow-citizens to listen or to turn a deaf ear to the conscientious fears, the well meant advice of those, who are pledged with them for the welfare of our common country. We feel bound in duty to plead the cause of the oppressed with our brethren at the South, who have authority to abrogate the State laws, on which the existence of slavery depends. We have no legal or constitutional authority to support our plea; but we have a draft upon their hearts, which will not be protested. Much as we wish that the words of the constitution might be so defined as to preclude the possibility of slavery in this country, yet we believe that the means which the constitution has left, are sufficient to accomplish this purpose. We believe that the moral action of truth and love, on the hearts and consciences of slaveholders, are fully adequate to the complete and speedy overthrow of our nation's crying sin. We would speak to the minds and hearts of our southern friends, to their earthly interests and their patriotic virtues. We would speak to them, not in the tone of vain self-

complacency, which ill befits those whose prejudices against the people of color are a strong offset to the fact that they are not actually slaveholders. Nor do we address them as interested, political rivals; for it is evident that, if the slaves were invested with all their social as well as personal rights, their interests being essentially the same as those of the rest of the inhabitants of that region, their emancipation would not diminish, but greatly increase the political influence of the South.* We would improve our more fortunate condition, to judge deliberately and calmly of the cause of the slaveholder and the slave. We acknowledge that among the slaveholders, there are many, who are prevented from immediately liberating their slaves, not by base and sordid motives, but some, by the state of the laws which discountenance emancipation; others, are kept back by inadequate or mistaken views of duty, or conscientious though groundless fears. On the other hand, we look upon the slave as a man, having all the rights of a man, which no one has any right to withhold from him, either from bad or good motives. It is urged in vindication of the present owners of slaves, that they are not the authors, but the innocent heirs of a great evil, superinduced upon their ancestors by the influence of a foreign government. But even if it could be shown, that the present generation were forced to accept the unhallowed inheritance, the origin can in no way justify the continuation of the evil. For it is in the power of the people of each slaveholding state, at any time, to abolish slavery—and no hereditary claim, though approved by all the sovereign powers on earth, and confirmed by long immemorial practice, holds good against the certificate of freedom which every human being brings with him into this world, from the hand of the living God.

Fellow-citizens! The Anti-Slavery Society, which is now growing so rapidly in every part of our country, although its seeds

* Some Northern opposers of our cause have raised a serious objection from the fact, that if slavery were abolished, the representation of the South in Congress would be increased, inasmuch as the enfranchised colored man would be counted as a whole man, whereas the slave is accounted only three fifths of a man. But what has the North to fear from such increase of representation in the South, when, in order to it, slavery, the chief cause of jealousy, will be done away?

were sown among the weeds and thorns of popular prejudice, the Anti-Slavery Society is not a new sect or party coming forward to mingle in the strife of politics, or the controversies of religion. It is intended to engage the friends of justice in every party; and it is actually composed of men of almost all the different religious and political denominations in our country. Its sole object is, to bring about by all lawful and moral means the immediate abolition of slavery in our land; to raise the colored man to that equality of rights with the white man, which the Declaration of Independence secures to all. Without objecting to any transient legal restraints and encouragements, which the influence of past servitude may render necessary, we claim for the colored man the immediate possession of personal independence and safety, the right to hold property, to be protected in all his family connections, to choose his own employment or profession, to give valid testimony in any court of justice; we claim for him the free exercise of religion, the free expression of his sentiments, the use of every means of education by which he may fit himself as soon as possible for the exercise of every right enjoyed by the white man. This is what we mean by *immediate abolition*.

It may have become necessary, on account of misrepresentation, to disclaim as a sentiment utterly foreign to abolitionists, any desire for the intermarriage of the whites and blacks. Neither we nor they wish it. The report of such a sentiment being cherished by us, originated with our opponents, *not with us*. On the contrary, as the past and continual amalgamation, of which the mulatto race is the offspring, must be imputed to the criminal bonds of slavery, so we are confident that abolition, as it leaves the two races free to form their domestic relations according to their natural inclination and taste, will tend to prevent amalgamation.

We have laid before you, our countrymen, the object of our Society; we invite every friend of justice, every patriot, every philanthropist, to engage with us in an enterprise, which, considering all the physical and spiritual wants of the slave, *will be found to comprise the essence of every benevolent society in our country*. If the manner in which our Society has pursued its great object has

been worthy of it, we have a right to expect the sympathy and co-operation of every wise and benevolent man. If our measures seem to you ill calculated to accomplish the object of our Society; this great and holy object itself should induce the wisest and best men of our country, if they recognize our good intentions, and approve our principles, to join our ranks, in order to guide our steps in the right way.

You who believe in the gospel of redemption, you who believe that the day will come when we must all appear before the judgment-seat of Christ, how will you stand before Him, who tries and judges the heart?—'Then shall he say unto them on the left hand, I was an hungered, and ye gave me no meat: I was thirsty, and ye gave me no drink: I was a stranger, and ye took me not in: naked, and ye clothed me not: sick, and in prison, and ye visited me not.' And when a band of those, who in your day and generation were kept in slavery, shall rise on the right hand of the Judge, to witness against you, do you think that the testimony of the colored man, rejected here, will be rejected also, in the court of eternal justice? Or do you believe you may evade the sentence of the Judge, by pleading that you attended to all the bodily wants and comforts of the slave—when you refused food and clothing, freedom, respect, and love to the immortal soul? Or, do you think yourselves safe under the plea that you yourselves were not slaveholders—when in any degree it depended on your exertions to put an end to the very existence of slavery in this world?

You who discern the signs of the time, and are guided by them—do you remember how your forefathers left their father-land, to seek liberty among strangers and savages? Do you remember how the sons of the pilgrims rather ventured their lives and their all in desperate fight, than consent to pay a paltry tax, because imposed by unlawful authority? Did not your fathers sign the Declaration of American Independence and human liberty? And did not the same spirit that gave you strength to overcome the bands of oppressors and mercenaries in your devoted land—follow the fugitives to their own homes, and wake the nations of the old world? France, Italy, Spain, Germany, Poland, England, have felt the touch of the redeeming angel. A spirit of keen inquiry is

going through the world, to examine every creed and every charter; it does not believe in the 'divine right of kings;' it will not pass over the flaw, the fatal defect in the title of a State, that under the specious name of a republic uses the authority of the law and the sword of justice, to seal and secure the oppression of more than one sixth of its inhabitants. The world has heard the tocsin of truth, and is awaking. Man is felt to be man, whether European prejudice frown upon him on account of his station, or American prejudice because of his color. Europe, which had rekindled the extinguished lamp of liberty at the altar of our revolution, still nourishes the holy fire; England goes before us as a torch-bearer, leading the way to the liberation of mankind. The despotism which our forefathers could not bear in their native country, is expiring, and the sword of justice in her reformed hands, has applied its exterminating edge to slavery. Shall the United States, the free United States, which could not bear the bonds of a King, cradle the bondage

which a King is abolishing? Shall a republic be less free than a monarchy? Shall we, in the vigor and buoyancy of our manhood, be less energetic in righteousness than a kingdom in its age?



You to whom the destinies of this country are committed, Americans, patriots in public and private life, on you it depends to prove, whether your liberty is the fruit of your determined choice or of a fortunate accident. If you are republicans, not by birth only, but from principle, then let the avenues, all the avenues of light and liberty, of truth and love, be opened wide to every soul within the nation,—that the bitterest curse of millions may no longer be, that they were born and bred in 'the land of the free and the home of the brave.'

CHARLES FOLLEN,
CYRUS PITT GROSVENOR,
JOHN G. WHITTIER,
D. PHELPS,
JOSHUA V. HIMES.

} Committee.






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